THE TRUE HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

BY

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO,
ONE OF ITS CONQUERORS.

From the only exact copy made of the Original Manuscript.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED IN MEXICO,

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Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes,

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ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, M.A.,
HON. PROFESSOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY, NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO.

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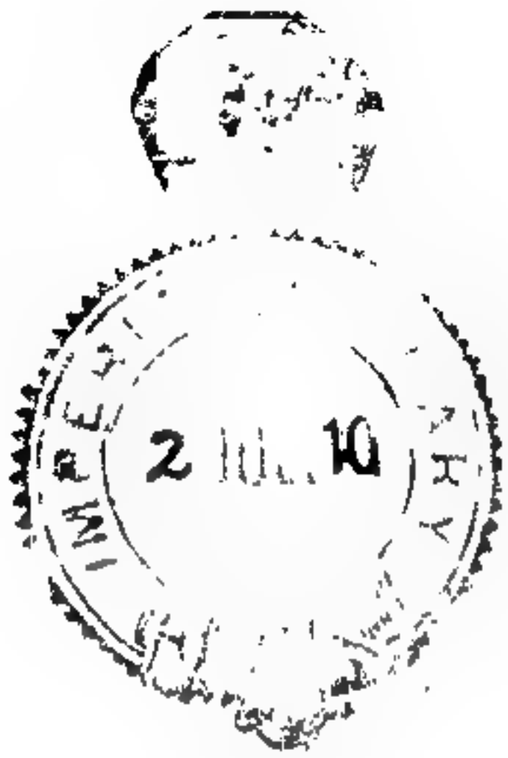

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THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as your gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

s around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—"Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome.

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat

them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some were already posted within the houses, and all had their arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the *Azoteas* and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be turned against them.

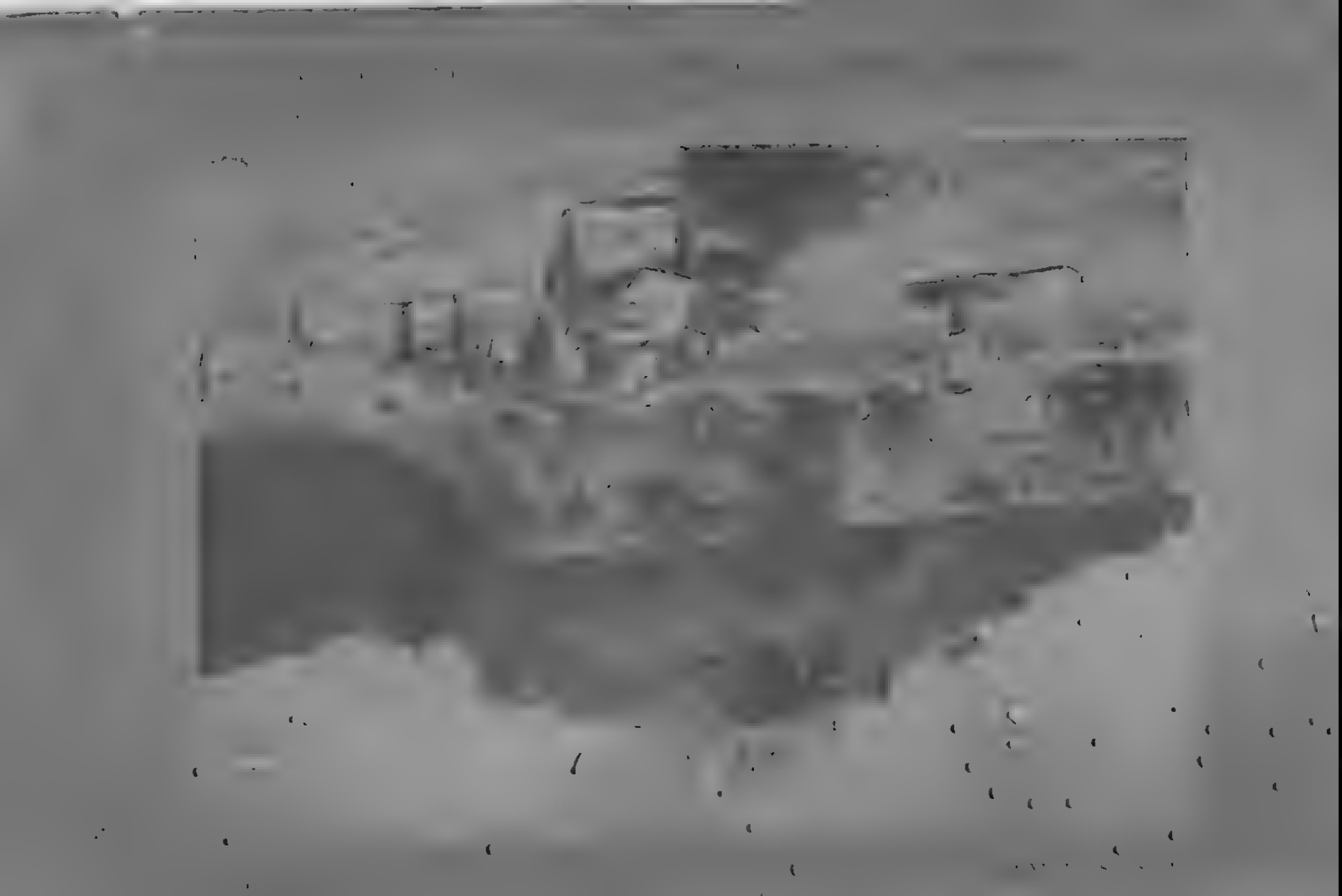
Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed us very well for the first two days, and although we saw them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but remained some distance off, laughing at us as though mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and the old men who brought it said that there was no more maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous priests who were in the great Cue near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he



believed they would do as he told them and would come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Azoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

"Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

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[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory.

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also

told us about the barricades which they had ordered to be made and the two thousand warriors that were to be given to us, and how it had already been agreed that twenty of us were to be kept to be sacrificed to the Idols of Cholula.

Cortés ordered these men to be given a present of richly embroidered cloth, and told them not to say anything [about the information they had given us] for, if they disclosed it, on our return from Mexico we would kill them. He also told them that we should start early the next morning, and he asked them to summon all the Caciques to come then so that he might speak to them.

That night Cortés took counsel of us as to what should be done, for he had very able men with him whose advice was worth having, but as in such cases frequently happens, some said that it would be advisable to change our course and go by Huexotzingo, others that we must manage to preserve the peace by every possible means and that it would be better to return to Tlaxcala, others of us gave our opinion that if we allowed such treachery to pass unpunished, wherever we went we should be treated to worse [treachery], and that being there in the town, with ample provisions, we ought to make an attack, for the Indians would feel the effect of it more in their own homes than they would in the open, and that we should at once warn the Tlaxcalans so that they might join in it. All thought well of this last advice. As Cortés had already told them that we were going to set out on the following day for this reason we should make a show of tying together our baggage, which was little enough, and then in the large courts with high walls, where we were lodged, we should fall on the Indian warriors, who well deserved their fate. As regards the Ambassadors of Montezuma, we should dissemble and tell them that the evil-minded Cholulans had intended treachery and had attempted to put the blame for it on their Lord Montezuma, and on themselves

as his Ambassadors, but we did not believe Montezuma had given any such orders, and we begged them to stay in their apartments and not have any further converse with the people of the city, so that we should not have reason to think they were in league with them in their treachery, and we asked them to go with us as our guides to Mexico.

They replied that neither they themselves nor their Lord Montezuma knew anything about that which we were telling them. Although they did not like it, we placed guards over the Ambassadors, so that they could not go out without our permission, and Montezuma should not come to know that we were well aware how it was he who had ordered it to be done.

All that night we were on the alert and under arms with the horses saddled and bridled, and with many sentinels and patrols, although indeed it was always our custom to keep a good watch, for we thought that for certain all the companies of the Mexicans as well as the Cholulans would attack us during the night.

There was an old Indian woman, the wife of a Cacique, who knew all about the plot and trap which had been arranged, and she had come secretly to Doña Marina our interpreter, having noticed that she was young and good looking and rich, and advised her, if she wanted to escape with her life, to come with her to her house, for it was certain that on that night or during the next day we were all going to be killed, for the Great Montezuma had so arranged and commanded that the Mexicans and the people of the city were to join forces, and not one of us was to be left alive, except those who would be carried bound to Mexico. Because she knew of this, and on account of the compassion she felt for Doña Marina, she had come to tell her that she had better get all her possessions together and come with her to her house, and

she would there marry her to her son, the brother of a youth who was with another old woman who accompanied her.

When Doña Marina understood this (as she was always very shrewd) she said to her, "O mother, thank you much for this that you have told me, I would go with you at once but that I have no one here whom I can trust to carry my clothes and jewels of gold of which I have many, for goodness sake, mother, wait here a little while, you and your son, and to-night we will set out, for now, as you can see, these Teules are on the watch and will hear us."

The old woman believed what she said, and remained chatting with her, and Doña Marina asked her how they were going to kill us all, and how and when and where the plot was made. The old woman told her neither more nor less than what the two priests had already stated, and Doña Marina replied—"If this affair is such a secret, how is it that you came to know about it?" and the old woman replied that her husband had told her, for he was a captain of one of the parties in the city, and as captain he was now away with his warriors giving orders for them to join the squadrons of Montezuma in the barrancas, and she thought that they were already assembled waiting for us to set out, and that they would kill us there; as to the plot she had known about it for three days, for a gilded drum had been sent to her husband from Mexico, and rich cloaks and jewels of gold had been sent to three other captains to induce them to bring us bound to their Lord Montezuma.

When Doña Marina heard this she deceived the old woman and said—"How delighted I am to hear that your son to whom you wish to marry me is a man of distinction. We have already talked a good deal, and I do not want them to notice us, so Mother you wait here while I begin to bring my property, for I cannot bring it all at once, and you and your son, my brother, will take care of it, and then

we shall be able to go." The old woman believed all that was told her, and she and her son sat down to rest. Then Doña Marina went swiftly to the Captain and told him all that had passed with the Indian woman. Cortés at once ordered her to be brought before him, and questioned her about these treasons and plots, and she told him neither more nor less than the priests had already said, so he placed a guard over the woman so that she could not escape.

When dawn broke, it was a sight to see the haste with which the Caciques and priests brought in the warriors, laughing and contented as though they had already caught us in their traps and nets, and they brought more Indian warriors than we had asked for, and large as they are (for they still stand as a memorial of the past) the courtyards would not hold them all.

Early as it was when the Cholulans arrived with the warriors, we were already quite prepared for what had to be done. The soldiers with swords and shields were stationed at the gate of the great court so as not to let a single armed Indian pass out. Our Captain was mounted on horseback with many soldiers round him, as a guard, and when he saw how very early the Caciques and priests and warriors had arrived, he said—"How these traitors long to see us among the barrancas so as to gorge on our flesh, but Our Lord will do better for us." Then he asked for the two priests who had let out the secret, and they told him that they were at the gate of the courtyard with the other Caciques who wished to come in, and he sent our interpreter, Aguilar, to tell them to go to their houses, for he had no need of their presence now. This was in order that, as they had done us a good turn, they should not suffer for it, and should not get killed. Cortés was on horseback and Doña Marina near to him, and he asked the Caciques, why was it, as we had done them no harm what-

ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince.

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols.

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and

[1] Blotted out; "and others were burned."—G. G.

Cortés ordered Cristóbal de Olid to bring him all the Tlaxcalan captains together so that he could speak to them, and they did not delay in coming; then he ordered them to gather together all their men and go and camp in the fields, and this they did, and only the men from Cempoala remained with us.

Just then certain Caciques and priests of Cholula who belonged to other districts of the town, and said that they were not concerned in the treasons against us (for it is a large city and they have parties and factions among themselves), asked Cortés and all of us to pardon the provocation of the treachery that had been plotted against us, for the traitors had already paid with their lives. Then there came the two priests who were our friends and had disclosed the secret to us, and the old woman, the wife of the captain, who wanted to be the mother-in-law of Doña Marina, as I have already related, and all prayed Cortés for pardon.

When they spoke to him, Cortés made a show of great anger and ordered the Ambassadors of Montezuma, who were detained in our company, to be summoned. He then said that the whole city deserved to be destroyed, but that out of respect for their Lord Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he would pardon them, and that from now on they must be well behaved, and let them beware of such affairs as the last happening again, lest they should die for it.

Then, he ordered the Chiefs of Tlaxcala, who were in the fields, to be summoned, and told them to return the men and women whom they had taken prisoners, for the damage they had done was sufficient. Giving up the prisoners went against the grain with them [the Tlaxcalans], and they said that the Cholulans had deserved far greater punishment for the many treacheries they had constantly received at their hands. Nevertheless as Cortés

ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to white-wash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

pened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly." —G. G.

they will find it to be very different the one from the other. I also wish to say that some good Franciscan monks, who were the first friars whom his Majesty sent to this New Spain after the Conquest of Mexico, as I shall relate further on, went to Cholula to inform themselves and find out how and in what way that punishment was carried out, and for what reason, and the enquiry that they made was from the same priests and elders of the city, and after fully informing themselves from these very men, they found it to be neither more nor less than what I have written down in this narrative, and not as the Bishop has related it. If perchance we had not inflicted that punishment, our lives would have been in great danger on account of the squadrons and companies of Mexican and Cholulan warriors who were there, and the barricades and breastworks, and if to our misfortune they had killed us there, this New Spain would not have been so speedily conquered, nor would another Armada have dared to have come, and if it did, it would have been under greater difficulty, for the Mexicans would have defended their ports, and they would still have continued in a state of Idolatry.

I have heard a Franciscan Friar called Fray Toribio Motolinea, who led a good life, say that it would have been better if that punishment could have been prevented, and they had not given cause for its being carried out; but, as it had been carried out, it was a good thing that all the Indians of the provinces of New Spain should see and understand that those Idols and all the rest of them were evil and lying, for it showed that all their promises turned out false, and they lost the adoration which the people had hitherto given them, and thenceforth they would not sacrifice to them, nor come on pilgrimages to them from other parts, as they used to do. From that time they did not care for it [the principal Idol] and removed it from the lofty cue where it had stood, and either hid it or broke it up, so

that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

priests also advised him that if he should place obstacles in the way of our entry, we would make war on him through his subject towns, seeing that we had as our friends the Tlaxcalans, and all the Totonacs of the hills, and other towns which had accepted our alliance, and to avoid these evils the best and most sensible advice was that which Huichilobos had given.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma had decided, and I will relate what he did about it and how we agreed to set out for Mexico, and that when we were ready to start messengers arrived from Montezuma with a present, and what he sent to say.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

How the Great Montezuma sent a present of gold, and what he sent to say to us, and how we decided to set out for Mexico, and what else happened about it.

So the great Montezuma again took counsel with his Huichilobos, and his priests and captains, and all advised him to allow us to enter the city, as there he could kill us in safety. When he heard the message which we sent to him concerning our friendship and the other fearless remarks, (to the effect that we were men from whom no treason which was plotted against us could be hidden without our finding it out, and that as for fighting, nothing suited us better, either in the open fields or in the towns, either by night or by day or in any way whatever) and as he had heard about our war with Tlaxcala, and knew of the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and Cingapacinga, and now about that at Cholula, he was dazed and even afraid. After much deliberation he despatched six chieftains with a present of gold and jewels of a variety of shapes which were estimated to be worth over two thousand dollars,

and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully worked.

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés.

Let us leave this subject and say that the Captain gave the Ambassadors a suitable and affectionate reply and ordered the messengers who had come with the present to remain with us as guides and the other three to return with the answer to their Prince, and to advise him that we were already on the road.

When the Chief Caciques of Tlaxcala, whom I have often mentioned before, named Xicotenga the elder and the blind, and Mase Escasi, understood that we were going, their souls were afflicted and they sent to say to Cortés that they had already warned him many times that he should be careful what he was about, and should refrain from entering such a strong city where there was so much war-like preparation and such a multitude of warriors, for one day or the other we would be attacked, and they feared that we would not escape alive, and on account of the good will that they bore us, they wished to send ten thousand men under brave captains to go with us and carry food for the journey.

Cortés thanked them heartily for their good wishes and told them that it was not just to enter into Mexico with such a host of warrors, especially when one party was so hostile to the other, that he only had need of one thousand men to carry the tepusques and the baggage, and to clear some of the roads, (I have already said that *tepusques* was the name they gave in these parts to the iron cannon which we carried with us) and they at once sent us five thousand Indians very well equipped.

Just as we were ready to set out, there came to Cortés, all the Caciques and all the principal warriors whom we had brought from Cempoala, who had marched in our company and served us well and loyally, and said that they wanted to go back to Cempoala and not to proceed beyond Cholula in the direction of Mexico, for they felt certain that if they went there it would be for them and for us to go to

our deaths. The Great Montezuma would order them to be killed because they were leading chiefs of Cempoala, and had broken their fealty by refusing to pay him tribute and by imprisoning his tax gatherers when the rebellion took place which I have already written about in the course of this story.

When Cortés observed the determination with which they demanded permission, he answered them through Doña Marina and Aguilar that they need not have the slighest fear that they would come to any harm, for, as they would go in our company, who would dare to annoy either them or us? and he begged them to change their minds and stay with us, and he promised to make them rich. Although Cortés pressed them to stay, and Doña Marina put it in the most warm-hearted manner, they never wished to stay, but only to return to their homes. When Cortés perceived this he said, "God forbid that these Indians who have served us so well should be forced to go," and he sent for many loads of rich mantles and divided them among them, and he also sent to our friend the fat Cacique who was Lord of Cempoala two loads of mantles for himself and for his nephew the other great Cacique named Cuesco. He also wrote to his lieutenant Juan de Escalante whom we had left there as Captain, and who at that time was Alguacil Mayor, and told him all that had happened to us, and how we were now on our way to Mexico, and he told him to look well after his neighbours, and to keep a good watch, and by day and night to be on the alert, and to finish building the fortress, and to help the natives of those towns against the Mexicans, and not to let any of the soldiers who were with him annoy the [friendly] natives in any way whatever. When this letter was written and the people of Cempoala had left us, we set out on our journey, keeping well on the alert.

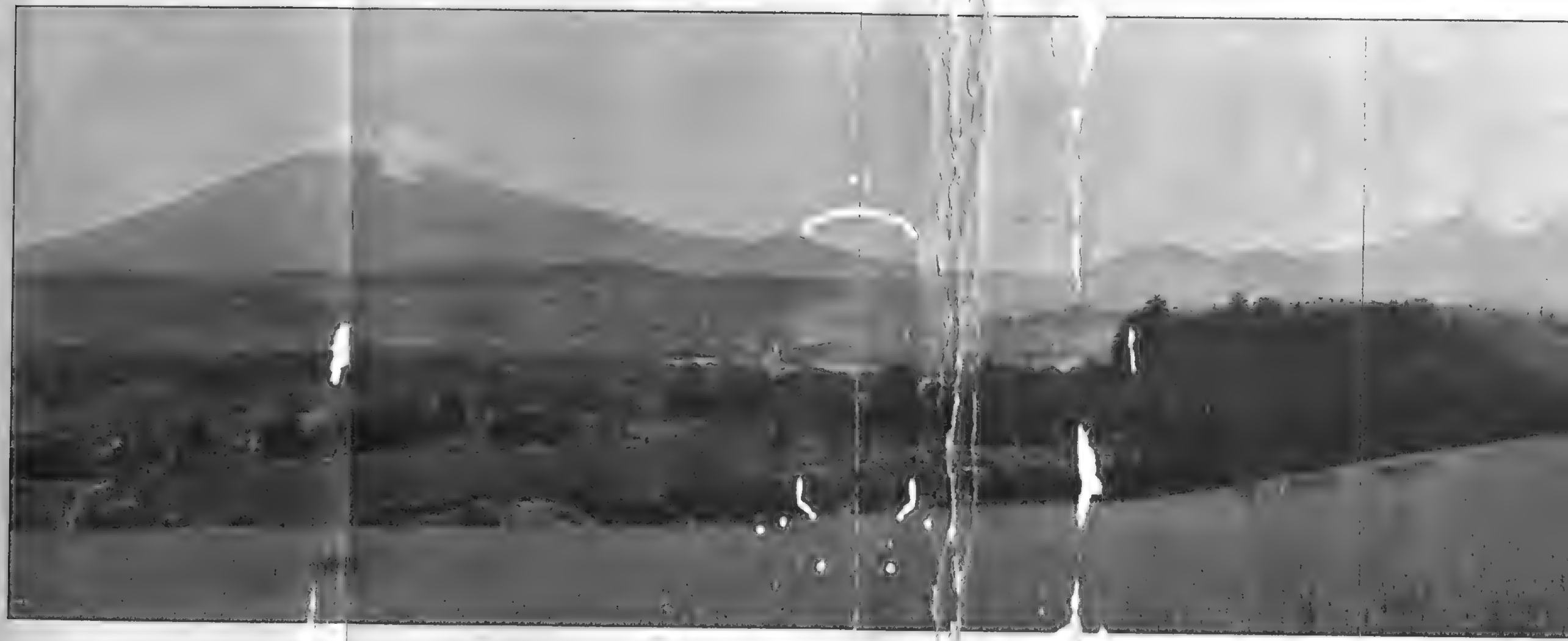
CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How we began our march to the City of Mexico, what happened to us on the road, and what Montezuma sent to say.

WE set out from Cholula in carefully arranged order as we were always accustomed to do, the mounted scouts examining the country ahead and some very active foot soldiers accompanying them, so that should they come to any bad ground or other obstacle they might help one another; then [followed] our cannon all ready for action, and the musketeers and crossbowmen, and then the horsemen in parties of three so that they could help one another, then all the rest of the soldiers in good order. I don't know why I call all this so clearly to mind, but when writing about war, one feels obliged to make mention of it, so that it can be seen how we marched always "with chin on shoulder." Marching in this way we arrived that day at some ranchos standing on a hill about four leagues from Cholula, they are peopled from Huexotzingo, and I think they are called the Ranchos of Yscalpan. To this place soon came the Caciques and priests of the towns of Huexotzingo which were near by, and they were friends and allies of the Tlaxcalans, and there also came people from other small towns, which stand on the slopes of the volcano near their boundary line, who brought us food and a present of golden jewels of small value, and they asked Cortés to accept them and not consider the insignificance of the gift but the good will with which it was offered. They advised him not to go to Mexico as it was a very strong city and full of warriors, where we should run much risk. They also told us to look out, if we had decided upon going, for when we had ascended to the pass we should find two broad roads, one leading to a town named Chalco, and the other to another

Popocatepetl

Ix



ON THE ROAD FROM CHOLULA TO MEXICO. THE PASS BETWEEN POPOCATEPETL AND IXTACCIHUATL.

Photograph taken from near the Ranches of Yscalpan See page 28.

town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico; that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the mountain along the road that had been cleared, the Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

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[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).

[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

see what ditches and ramparts there were there, and if there were any squadrons of warriors. But the Caciques answered him—"Malinche, there is no necessity to go and see, for it is now all levelled and put right, for you should know that six days ago there was a difficult pass there, for they had cut away the hill so that you could not get by, and many warriors of the Great Montezuma [were stationed there], but we have learnt that their Huichilobos, who is their god of War, advised them to allow you to pass, for when you have entered the city of Mexico there they will kill you. Therefore, we are of opinion that you should stay here with us, and we will give you what we possess, and that you should give up going to Mexico, as we know for certain it is very strong and full of warriors, and they will not spare your lives."

Cortés replied to them, with a cheerful mien, that we had no fear that the Mexicans, or any other nation, could destroy us, only our Lord God in whom we believe, and, so that they should understand, we were going to explain to Montezuma himself and all his Caciques and priests, what our God had commanded. As we wished to start at once, he asked them to give him twenty of their principal men to go in his company; and he would do much for them, and would have justice done to them as soon as he arrived in Mexico, so that neither Montezuma nor his tax gatherers should perpetrate the abuses nor use the violence which they said had been used towards them.

With cheerful faces the people from all these towns I have named gave satisfactory replies to this speech and they brought us the twenty Indians, and just as we were ready to set out, messengers arrived from the Great Montezuma, and what they said I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

How the great Montezuma again sent other Ambassadors to us with a present of gold and cloths, and what they said to Cortés and what he replied to them.

As we were starting on our march to Mexico there came before Cortés four Mexican chiefs sent by Montezuma who brought a present of gold and cloths. After they had made obeisance according to their custom, they said —"Malinche, our Lord the Great Montezuma sends you this present and says that he is greatly concerned for the hardships you have endured in coming from such a distant land in order to see him, and that he has already sent to tell you that he will give you much gold and silver and chalchihuites as tribute for your Emperor and for yourself and the other Teules in your company, provided you will not come to Mexico, and now again he begs as a favour, that you will not advance any further but return whence you have come, and he promises to send you to the port a great quantity of gold and silver and rich stones for that King of yours, and, as for you, he will give you four loads of gold and for each of your brothers one load, but as for going on to Mexico your entrance into it is forbidden, for all his vassals have risen in arms to prevent your entry, and besides this there is no road thither, only a very narrow one, and there is no food for you to eat." And he used many other arguments about the difficulties to the end that we should advance no further.

Cortés with much show of affection embraced the Ambassadors, although the message grieved him, and he accepted the present; I forget how much it was worth, but, as far as I could see and understand, Montezuma never omitted to send gold, little or much, when he sent messengers, as I have already related. To return to our

story, Cortés answered them that he marvelled how the Lord Montezuma, having given himself out as our friend, and being such a great Prince, should be so inconstant; that one time he says one thing and another time sends to order the contrary, and regarding what he says about giving gold to our Lord the Emperor and to ourselves, he is grateful to him for it, and what he sends him now he will pay for in good works as time goes on. How can he deem it befitting that being so near to his city, we should think it right to return on our road without carrying through what our Prince has commanded us to do? If the Lord Montezuma had sent his messengers and ambassadors to some great prince such as he is himself, and if, after nearly reaching his house, those messengers whom he sent should turn back without speaking to the Prince about that which they were sent to say, when they came back into his [Montezuma's] presence with such a story, what favour would he show them? He would merely treat them as cowards of little worth; and this is what our Emperor would do with us, so that in one way or another we were determined to enter his city, and from this time forth he must not send any more excuses on the subject, for he [Cortés] was bound to see him, and talk to him and explain the whole purpose for which we had come, and this he must do to him personally. Then after he understood it all, if our presence in the city did not seem good to him, we would return whence we had come. As for what he said about there being little or no food, not enough to support us, we were men who could get along even if we have but little to eat, and we were already on the way to his city, so let him take our coming in good part.

As soon as the messengers had been despatched, we set out for Mexico, and as the people of Huexotzingo and Chalco had told us that Montezuma had held consultations with his Idols and priests whether he should allow us to

enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans.

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper.

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was.

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us.

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[3] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about.

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the

[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[2] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[2] Mexquic.

[3] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma. And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. When we arrived where another small causeway branches off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

got down from his litter, and those great Caciques supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals [*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains who had come with him returned in his train. As they turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

fastened, Cortés thanked Montezuma through our interpreters, and Montezuma replied—"Malinche you and your brethren are in your own house, rest awhile," and then he went to his palaces which were not far away, and we divided our lodgings by companies, and placed the artillery pointing in a convenient direction, and the order which we had to keep was clearly explained to us, and that we were to be much on the alert, both the cavalry and all of us soldiers. A sumptuous dinner was provided for us according to their use and custom, and we ate it at once. So this was our lucky and daring entry into the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico on the 8th day of November the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1519.

Thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for it all. And if I have not said anything that I ought to have said, may your honours pardon me, for I do not know now even at the present time how better to express it.

Let us leave this talk and go back to our story of what else happened to us, which I will go on to relate.

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[1] Tenustitan in the text.

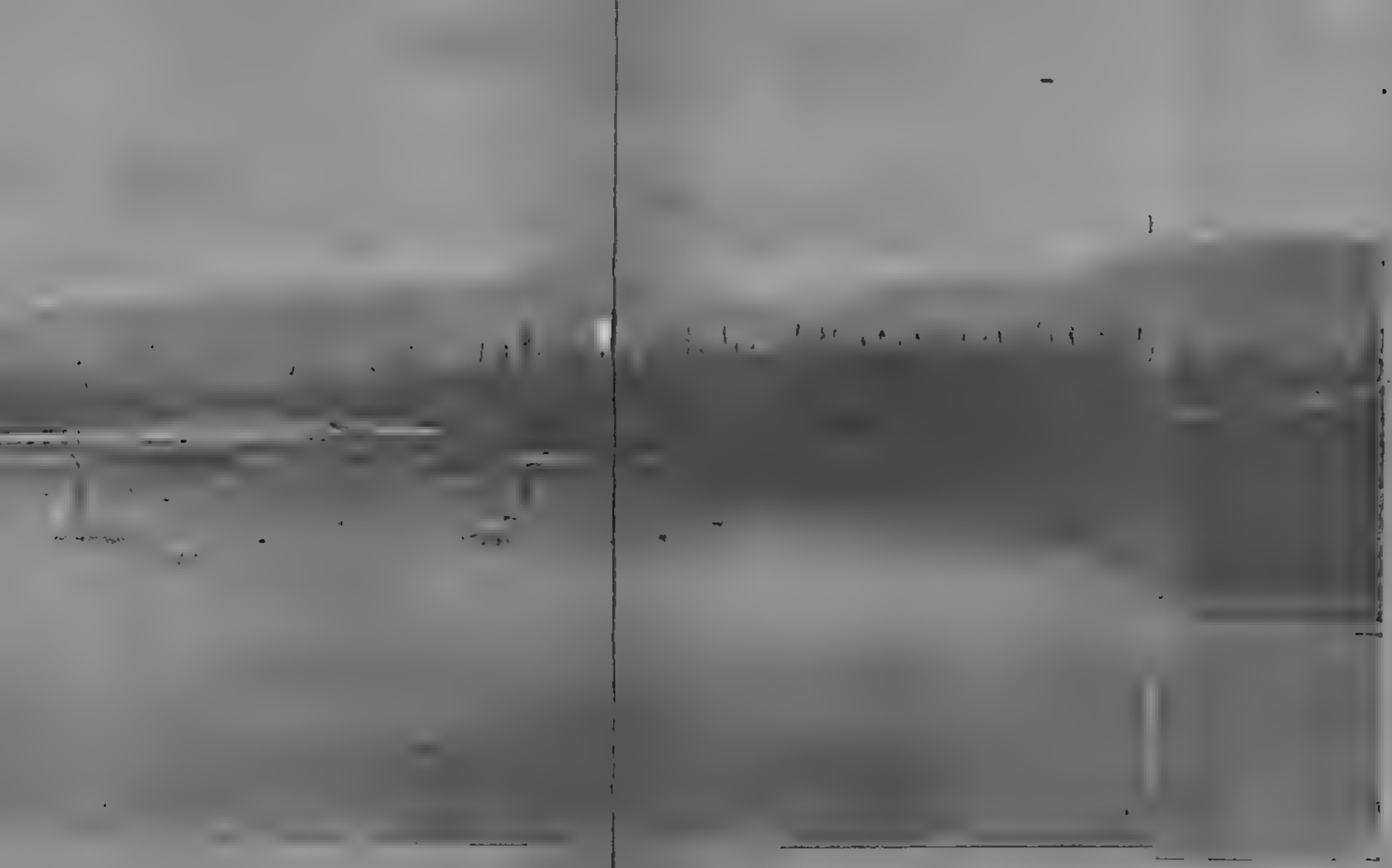


Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

Its Lakes, Mountains and Basin

The Valley of Mexico is a plateau about 7,474 feet above the sea completely surrounded by mountains which leave no exit for the escape of the water from a fairly abundant rainfall, and as a consequence the whole valley at one period must have formed one great lake, whose volume was limited only by soakage and the very moderate amount of water due to atmospheric loss. At the time of the Conquest the area of the surface of the lakes was very roughly 442 square miles.

A red line on the map[1] marks the shape and size of this basin, and shows that the rest of the valley floor is surrounded by a mountain line of the watershed, which reaches about 3,160 square miles.

Beyond this line the water can escape through gaps in the three ranges. To the East the Sierra Nevada, with the great peaks of Popocatepetl (17,887 ft.) and Ixtaccihuatl (17,343 ft.) capped with perpetual snow, and the three lower peaks to the North, Papayantepon and Tlaloc; to the South lies the great volcanic barrier of Ajusco, to the West the range of Las Cruces, and to the North that of Pachuca. Towards the south part of the valley the intrusion of the lava-flow ridges of Coyoacan, Santa Catarina, la Estrella and Churubusco, reduced the water surface between the lakes of Xochimilco and Texcoco to a narrow space, and, to the north of the city, a similar tongue of land has reduced the water space between the lakes of Texcoco and Xaltocan. The rainfall appears to be more considerable on the western than on the eastern side of the lakes. The streams flowing into the lakes are of necessity short in their courses and mostly torrential, by far the most important being the Rio de Guadalupe on the North-west.

Although the lakes have received different names, the water surface must have been continuous until separated by the earthworks of the Indians. Starting from the North the lakes are named Xaltocan, Zumpango, San Cristobal (by the Spaniards), Texcoco, Xochimilco and Chalco.

Of this chain of lakes Texcoco is lowest, and measurements made in recent years, after much of the water had been drained away, show that it is eighteen feet below the level of Mexico. To this list is also

[1] Map No. 1.

	Level above Texcoco in Metres.		
Texcoco	0.00		
Zumpango ...	6.06	...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47	...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60	...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14	...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08	...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90	...	—

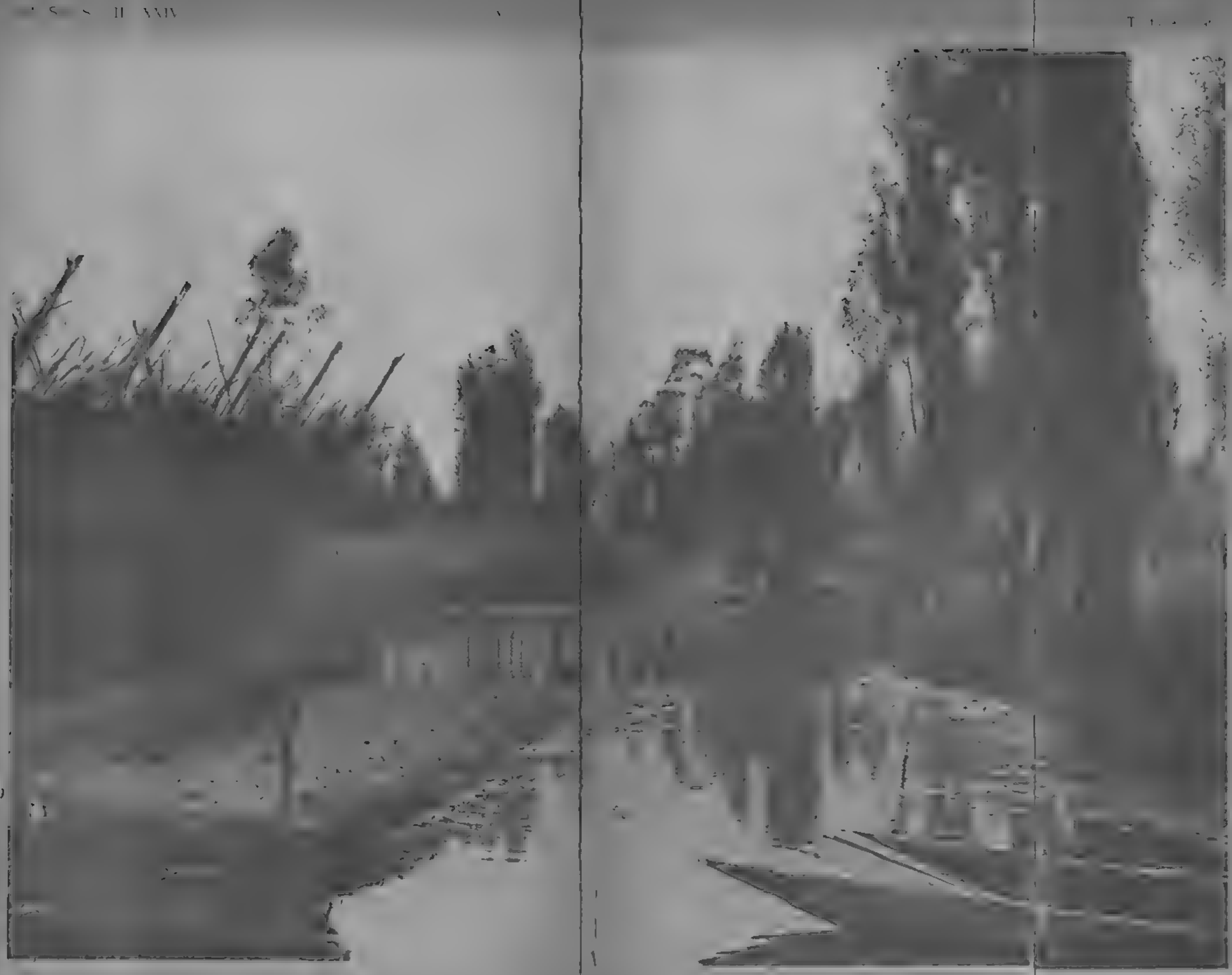
must have been very shallow.

The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two re
covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated
between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by
as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and th
evidence of a continual state of intertribal warfare.

The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud fr
vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased
and became more compact from the growth of the in
roots of the willows and other water-loving plants unt
ay have supported a small hut for the owner and
d the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on
margin of the lake. Two large groups of such garden

in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barra
in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were
Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.



CHINAMPAS OF LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Ilhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

"This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilomètres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

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[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

such [illegible] to be seen [illegible] and [illegible] the Lake of [illegible] there must also [illegible] one of those on the site of the City which supplied its ancient inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

"The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes [illegible] of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all. The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

NOTE ON THE DRAINAGE.

From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley [illegible] of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin (known as Enrico Martinez), planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountains to the north of the valley, but the work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico.*
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:—

"The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

"And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza."

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says :—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Montezuma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses

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[1] Cortés' second letter.

[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.

[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.

[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

of poles and thatch of Indian tribes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

The Viga Canal still survives as a water-way by which produce is brought into Mexico from the market gardens or chinampas of Lake Zochimilco, and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the canal which ran from the Viga Canal along the south side of the great square past the convent of San Francisco was finally filled in. For many years the roadway beside it was known as the "Calle de Canoas," and the names Puente de la Leña (Fire wood bridge), Portal de las Flores, etc., still mark the localities where the different commodities were sold on the banks of the Canal. Indeed, the course of many an old water-way can still be traced in the modern City by the names which have clung to the localities since the days of the conquest and are now attached to the streets.

The Upsala map seems to show that there was an embankment or pallisade along the east side of the City, necessary as a protection against the wash of the waves from the lake, but on the other sides the entrance of the numerous canals was probably through tree-lined chinampas and orchards, similar to the approach to Xochimilco at the present day. Gardens and groves were evidently numerous in the City itself; the Mexicans were distinguished for their love of flowers, and there is no climate where gardening is more remunerative than in these tropical highlands when water is plentiful. The flowering plants cultivated on the roofs of the houses must have added greatly to the picturesque aspect of the streets and canals.

Bernal Díaz tells us how clean the surroundings of the great temple were kept, where not a straw or a spot of dust could be seen (filth seems to have been confined to the temples themselves where the horrid rites of their religion were performed), and this cleanliness probably extended to the City itself, for it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy, while this is not the case in the towns and villages inhabited by the mixed race.

A P Mandelay del

Hakluyt Society

AZCAPOTZALCO

TEPEYAC
(GUADELUPE)

ATZACOALCO

TACUBA

POPOTLA

Tree of the Noche Triste

TLALTELOLCO

TACUBA CAUSEWAY

AQUEDUCT

TEPEYAC CAUSEWAY

TEPETZINCO
(PEÑON DE LOS BAÑOS)

ALBARRADA DE NETZAHUALCOYOTL

CHAPULTEPEC

TENOCHTITLAN

ACACHINANCO

SMALL CAUSEWAY

IZTAPALAPA CAUSEWAY

TEPEPOLCO
(PEÑON DEL MARQUÉS)

MEXICALTZINGO CAUSEWAY

IZTAPALAPA

MEXICALTZINGO

COYOACAN

CHURUBUSCO

CULUACAN

Cerro de la Estrella

SAN ANTON

TEZONCO

ZAPOTITLAN

PLAN
showing the position
of
THE CAUSEWAYS
connecting
THE ISLAND CITY OF MEXICO
with
THE MAINLAND

Scale of Statute Miles

1 ½ ¼ ¾ 0 1 2

To face p 52

Ser. II Vol. 24

BOOK VI.

THE STAY IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Great Montezuma came to our quarters wtih many Caciques accompanying him, and the conversation that he had with our Captain.

WHEN the Great Montezuma had dined and he knew that some time had passed since our Captain and all of us had done the same, he came in the greatest state to our quarters with a numerous company of chieftains, all of them his kinsmen. When Cortés was told that he was approaching he came out to the middle of the Hall to receive him, and Montezuma took him by the hand, and they brought some seats made according to their usage and very richly decorated and embroidered with gold in many designs, and Montezuma asked our Captain to be seated, and both of them sat down each on his chair. Then Montezuma began a very good speech, saying that he was greatly rejoiced to have in his house and his kingdom such valiant gentlemen as were Cortés and all of us. That two years ago he had received news of another Captain who came to

Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

enter or hold communication with Montezuma where he then was, unless it were on important business. Cortés and he paid the greatest reverence to each other and then they took one another by the hand and Montezuma made him sit down on his couch[1] on his right hand, and he also bade all of us to be seated on seats which he ordered to be brought.

Then Cortés began to make an explanation through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and said that he and all of us were rested, and that in coming to see and converse with such a great Prince as he was, we had completed the journey and fulfilled the command which our great King and Prince had laid on us. But what he chiefly came to say on behalf of our Lord God had already been brought to his [Montezuma's] knowledge through his ambassadors, Tendile, Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor, at the time when he did us the favour to send the golden sun and moon to the sand dunes; for we told them then that we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, named Jesus Christ, who suffered death and passion to save us, and we told them that a cross (when they asked us why we worshipped it) was a sign of the other Cross on which our Lord God was crucified for our salvation, and that the death and passion which He suffered was for the salvation of the whole human race, which was lost, and that this our God rose on the third day and is now in heaven, and it is He who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the sands, and created all the things there are in the world, and He sends the rain and the dew, and nothing happens in the world without His holy will. That we believe in Him and worship Him, but that those whom they look upon as gods are not so, but are devils, which are evil things, and if their looks are bad their deeds are worse, and they could

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[1] Estrado.

see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this.

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same

belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

well that these people of Tlaxcala with whom you are such good friends have told you that I am a sort of God or Teul, and that everything in my houses is made of gold and silver and precious stones, I know well enough that you are wise and did not believe it but took it as a joke. Behold now, Señor Malinche, my body is of flesh and bone like yours, my houses and palaces of stone and wood and lime; that I am a great king and inherit the riches of my ancestors is true, but not all the nonsense and lies that they have told you about me, although of course you treated it as a joke, as I did your thunder and lightning."

Cortés answered him, also laughing, and said that opponents and enemies always say evil things, without truth in them, of those whom they hate, and that he well knew that he could not hope to find another Prince more magnificent in these countries, and that not without reason had he been so vaunted to our Emperor.

While this conversation was going on, Montezuma secretly sent a great Cacique, one of his nephews who was in his company, to order his stewards to bring certain pieces of gold, which it seems must have been put apart to give to Cortés, and ten loads of fine cloth, which he apportioned, the gold and mantles between Cortés and the four captains, and to each of us soldiers he gave two golden necklaces, each necklace being worth ten pesos, and two loads of mantles. The gold that he then gave us was worth in all more than a thousand pesos and he gave it all cheerfully and with the air of a great and valiant prince. As it was now past midday, so as not to appear importunate, Cortés said to him: "Señor Montezuma, you always have the habit of heaping load upon load in every day conferring favours on us, and it is already your dinner time." Montezuma replied that he thanked us for coming to see him, and then we took our leave with the greatest courtesy and we went to our lodgings.

And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds,

other things which are bred in this country, and they are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate standing up with much reverence and without looking at his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

Quezales, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours —green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practiséd among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews, and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER XCII.

How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

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[1] Tutelulco in the text.

Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were already approaching its great courts, before leaving the market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship.

Then Cortés said "I ask your pardon if it be so," and then we went down the steps, and as they numbered one hundred and fourteen, and as some of our soldiers were suffering from tumours and abscesses, their legs were tired by the descent.

I will leave off talking about the oratory, and I will give my impresions of its surroundings, and if I do not describe it as accurately as I should do, do not wonder at it, for at that time I had other things to think about, regarding what we had on hand, that is to say my soldier's duties and what my Captain ordered me to do, and not about telling stories. To go back to the facts, it seems to me that the circuit of the great Cue was equal to [that of] six large sites,[1] such as they measure in this country, and from below up to where a small tower stood, where they kept their idols, it narrowed, and in the middle of the lofty Cue up to its highest point, there were five hollows like barbicans, but open, without screens, and as there are many Cues painted on the banners of the conquerors, and on one which I possess, any one who has seen them can infer what they looked like from outside, better that I myself saw and understood it. There was a report that at the time they began to build that great Cue, all the inhabitants of that mighty city had placed as offerings in the foundations, gold and silver and pearls and precious stones, and had bathed them with the blood of the many Indian prisoners of war who were sacrificed, and had placed there every sort and kind of seed that the land produces, so that their Idols should give them victories and riches, and large crops. Some of my inquisitive readers will ask, how could we come to know that into the foundations of that great Cue they cast gold and silver and precious chalchihuites and seeds, and watered them with the human

[1] Solares. Solar is a town lot for house building.

blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago.

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood. Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings. And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all.

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did.

CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters.

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

number of jewels and slabs and plates of gold and chalchihuites and other great riches, that they were quite carried away and did not know what to say about such wealth. The news soon spread among all the other Captains and soldiers, and very secretly we went in to see it. When I saw it I marvelled, and as at that time I was a youth and had never seen such riches as those in my life before, I took it for certain that there could not be another such store of wealth in the whole world. It was decided by all our captains and soldiers, that we should not dream of touching a particle of it, but that the stones should immediately be put back in the doorway and it should be sealed up and cemented just as we found it, and that it should not be spoken about, lest it should reach Montezuma's ears, until times should alter.

Let us leave this about the riches, and say that as we had such valiant captains and soldiers of good counsel and judgment, (and first of all we all believed for certain that our Lord Jesus Christ held His Divine hand over all our affairs,) four of our captains took Cortés aside in the church, with a dozen soldiers in whom he trusted and confided, and I was one of them, and we asked him to look at the net and trap in which we found ourselves, and to consider the great strength of that city, and observe the causeways and bridges, and to think over the words of warning that we had been given in all the towns we had passed through, that Montezuma had been advised by his Huichilobos to allow us to enter into the city, and when we were there, to kill us. That he [Cortés] should remember that the hearts of the men are very changeable, especially those of Indians, and he should not repose trust in the good will and affection that Montezuma was showing us, for at some time or other, when the wish occurred to him, he would order us to be attacked, and by the stoppage of our supplies of food or of water, or by the raising of

any of the bridges, we should be rendered helpless. Then, considering the great multitude of Indian warriors that Montezuma had as his guard, what should we be able to do either in offence or defence? and as all the houses were built in the water, how could our friends the Tlaxcalans enter and come to our aid? He should think over all this that we had said, and if we wished to safeguard our lives, that we should at once, without further delay, seize Montezuma and should not wait until next day to do it. He should also remember that all the gold that Montezuma had given us and all that we had seen in the treasury of his father Axayaca, and all the food which we ate, all would be turned to arsenic poison in our bodies, for we could neither sleep by night nor day nor rest ourselves while these thoughts were in our minds, and that if any of our soldiers should give him other advice short of this, they would be senseless beasts who were dazed by the gold, incapable of looking death in the face.

When Cortés heard this he replied: "Don't you imagine, gentlemen, that I am asleep, or that I am free from the same anxiety, you must have felt that it is so with me; but what possibility is there of our doing a deed of such great daring as to seize such a great prince in his own palace, surrounded as he is by his own guards and warriors, by what scheme or artifice can we carry it out, so that he should not call on his warriors to attack us at once?"

Our Captains replied, (that is Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado,) that with smooth speeches he should be got out of his halls and brought to our quarters, and should be told that he must remain a prisoner, and if he made a disturbance or cried out, that he would pay for it with his life; that if Cortés did not want to do this at once, he should give them permission to do it, as they were ready

for the work, for, between the two great dangers in which we found ourselves, it was better and more to the purpose to seize Montezuma than to wait until he attacked us ; for if he began the attack, what chance should we have? Some of us soldiers also told Cortés that it seemed to us that Montezuma's stewards, who were employed in providing us with food, were insolent and did not bring it courteously as during the first days. Also two of our Allies the Tlaxcalan Indians said secretly to Jerónimo de Aguilar, our interpreter, that the Mexicans had not appeared to be well disposed towards us during the last two days. So we stayed a good hour discussing the question whether or not we should take Montezuma prisoner, and how it was to be done, and to our Captain this last advice seemed opportune, that in any case we should take him prisoner, and we left it until the next day. All that night we were praying to God that our plan might tend to His Holy service.

The next morning after these consultations, there arrived, very secretly, two Tlaxcalan Indians with letters from Villa Rica and what they contained was the news that Juan de Escalante, who had remained there as Chief Alguacil, and six of our soldiers had been killed in a battle against the Mexicans, that his horse had also been slain, and many Totonacs who were in his company. Moreover, all the towns of the Sierra and Cempoala and its subject towns were in revolt, and refused to bring food or serve in the fort. They [the Spaniards] did not know what to do, for as formerly they had been taken to be Teules, that now after this disaster, both the Totonacs and Mexicans were like wild animals, and they could hold them to nothing, and did not know what steps to take.

When we heard this news, God knows what sorrow affected us all, for this was the first disaster we had

how evil fortune came rolling on us. No one who had seen us enter into that city with such a solemn and triumphant reception, and had seen us in possession of riches which Montezuma gave every day both to our Captain and to us, and had seen the house that I have described full of gold, and how the people took us for Teules, that is for Idols, and that we were conquerors in all our battles, would have thought that now such a great disaster could have befallen us, namely that they no longer attributed to us our former repute, but looked upon us as men liable to be conquered, and that we should have to feel their growing insolence towards us.

As the upshot of much argument it was agreed that, by one means or another, we should seize Montezuma that very day, or we would all die in the attempt.

So that my readers may see how Juan de Escalante fought this battle and was killed in it, he and six soldiers and a horse and the Totonac allies whom he took with him, I wish here to describe it before coming to the seizure of Montezuma, so as not to leave anything behind, for it is necessary that it should be clearly understood.

CHAPTER XCIV.

How the Mexican Captains fought a battle against Juan de Escalante, and killed him and a horse and six soldiers and many of our Totonac allies.

IT was in this way; you may remember my having said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that when we were camped at a town called Quiahuitztlan, that there came together many allied towns which were friendly with the people of Cempoala, and our Captain persuaded them to agree not to pay any more tribute to Montezuma, and there were more than thirty towns which rebelled against

him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need.

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders.

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

happened, and not as the historian Gomara has written it, for he says in his history that Pedro de Ircio went to settle at Panuco with certain soldiers. I do not know how, owing to a misunderstanding, so eloquent an historian could make such a statement. All the soldiers that Cortés had with him in Mexico did not number four hundred, and most of them had been wounded in the battles at Tlaxcala and Tabasco and we had not sufficient men to keep a good watch, much less for sending to settle at Panuco. Moreover he says that Pedro de Ircio went as their captain, when he was not a captain and not even an officer at that time, and they did not employ him nor take any notice of him, and he remained with us in Mexico. The same historian also says many other things about the imprisonment of Montezuma. I do not understand his writing, and stare at it when he writes such things in his history, for there must be conquistadores alive who were there at the time, who when they read it will tell him, that this did not take place in such a manner. In this other matter he says what he likes, so let us leave him there and return to our story.

The Mexican Captains after the battle with Escalante that I have spoken about, sent the news of it to Montezuma, and even sent and presented to him the head of Argüello, who it seems died of his wounds on the road, for they had carried him off alive. We heard that when they showed the head, which was large and strong looking and had a large curly beard, to Montezuma, he was terrified and feared to look at it, and ordered that it should not be taken as an offering to any temple in Mexico, but to some other Idol in another town. Montezuma asked his Captains how it was that having such thousands of warriors with them, they had not conquered such a small number of Teules, and they replied that their darts and arrows and hard fighting

to flight because a great *Teleçiguata*[1] of Castile marched before them, and this Lady frightened the Mexicans and said words to encourage the Teules. Then Montezuma thought that great Lady must be Saint Mary who we had told him was our protector, and whose image, with her precious Son in her arms, we had given to him some time before. However, I did not see this myself, for I was in Mexico, but certain conquistadores who were present say so, and pray God that it was so, and certainly all the soldiers who were with Cortés believed it and so it is true, and the divine pity of Our Lady the Virgin Mary was ever with us, for which I give her many thanks. I will leave off here and go on to narrate what happened about the seizure of the Great Montezuma.

CHAPTER XCV.

Of the Seizure of Montezuma and what was done about it.

As we had determined the day before to seize Montezuma, we were praying to God all that night that it would turn out in a manner redounding to His Holy service, and the next morning the way it should be done was settled.

Cortés took with him five captains who were Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo and Alonzo de Ávila, and he took me and our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and he told us all to keep on the alert, and the horsemen to have their horses saddled and bridled. As for our arms I need not call them to mind, for by day or night we always went armed and with our sandals on our

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[1] Tequeçihuata in the text.

feet, for at that time such was our footgear, and Montezuma had always seen us armed in that way when we went to speak to him. I mention this because although Cortés and those who went with him to seize Montezuma were all armed, Montezuma did not take it as anything new, nor was he disturbed at all.

When we were all ready, our Captain sent to tell Montezuma that we were coming to his Palace, for this had always been our custom, and so that he should not be alarmed by our arriving suddenly.

Montezuma understood more or less that Cortés was coming because he was annoyed about the Almeria affair, and he was afraid of him, but sent word for him to come and that he would be welcome.

When Cortés entered, after having made his usual salutations, he said to him through our interpreters "Señor Montezuma, I am very much astonished that you, who are such a valiant Prince, after having declared that you are our friend, should order your Captains, whom you have stationed on the coast near to Tuxpan, to take arms against my Spaniards, and that they should dare to rob the towns which are in the keeping and under the protection of our King and master and to demand of them Indian men and women for sacrifice, and should kill a Spaniard, one of my brothers, and a horse." (He did not wish to speak of the Captain nor of the six soldiers who died as soon as they arrived at Villa Rica, for Montezuma did not know about it, nor did the Indian Captains who had attacked them), and Cortés went on to say "being such a friend of yours I ordered my Captains to do all that was possible to help and serve you, and you have done exactly the contrary to us. Also in the affair at Cholula your Captains and a large force of warriors had received your own commands to kill us. I forgave it at the time out of my great regard

for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

with a loud and rather terrifying voice, for such was his way of speaking, Montezuma, who saw that our Captains were angered, asked Doña Marina what they were saying in such loud tones. As Doña Marina was very clever, she said, "Señor Montezuma, what I counsel you, is to go at once to their quarters without any disturbance at all, for I know that they will pay you much honour as a great Prince such as you are, otherwise you will remain here a dead man, but in their quarters you will learn the truth." Then Montezuma said to Cortés "Señor Malinche, if this is what you desire, I have a son and two legitimate daughters, take them as hostages, and do not put this affront on me, what will my chieftains say if they see me taken off as a prisoner?" Cortés replied to him that he must come with them himself, and there was no alternative. At the end of much more discussion that took place, Montezuma said that he would go willingly, and then Cortés and our Captains bestowed many caresses on him and told him that they begged him not to be annoyed, and to tell his captains and the men of his guard that he was going of his own free will, because he had spoken to his Idol Huichilobos and the priests who attended him, and that it was beneficial for his health and the safety of his life that he should be with us. His rich litter, in which he was used to go out with all the Captains who accompanied him was promptly brought, and he went to our quarters where we placed guards and watchmen over him.

All the attentions and amusements which it was possible for him to have, both Cortés and all of us did our best to afford him, and he was not put under any personal restraint, and soon all the principal Mexican Chieftains, and his nephews came to talk with him, and to learn the reason of his seizure, and whether he wished them to attack us. Montezuma answered them, that he was

delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great Caciques from distant lands came before him about boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico.

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more

so. After the burning was over our Cortés with five of our captains went to Montezuma's apartment and Cortés himself took off the fetters, and he spoke such loving words to him that his anger soon passed off, for our Cortés told him that he not only regarded him as a brother, but much more, and that, as he was already Lord and King of so many towns and provinces, if it were possible he would make him Lord of many more countries as time went on, such as he had not been able to subdue, and which did not now obey him, and he told him that if he now wished to go to his Palace, that he would give him leave to go. Cortés told him this through our interpreters and while Cortés was saying it the tears apparently sprang to Montezuma's eyes. He answered with great courtesy, that he thanked him for it, (but he well knew that Cortés's speech was mere words,) and that now at present it was better for him to stay there a prisoner, for there was danger, as his chieftains were numerous, and his nephews and relations came every day to him to say that it would be a good thing to attack us and free him from prison, that as soon as they saw him outside they might drive him to it [to attack us]. He did not wish to see revolutions in his city, but if he did not comply with their wishes possibly they would want to set up another Prince in his place, and so he was putting those thoughts out of their heads by saying that Huichilobos had sent him word that he should remain a prisoner. (From what we understood, and there is no doubt about it, Cortés had told Aguilar to tell Montezuma secretly, that although Malinche wished to release him from his imprisonment, that the rest of our captains and soldiers would not agree to it.) When he heard this reply, Cortés threw his arms round him and embraced him and said, "It is not in vain Señor Montezuma that I care for you as I care for myself." Then Montezuma asked Cortés that a Spanish page named Orteguilla who already knew

something of his language might attend on him, and this was very advantageous both for Montezuma and for us, for through this page Montezuma asked and learned many things about Spain, and we learned what his captains said to him, and in truth this page was so serviceable that Montezuma got to like him very much.

Let us cease talking about how Montezuma became fairly contented with the great flattery and attention he received and the conversation that he had with us, and whenever we passed before him, even if it was Cortés himself, we doffed our mailed caps or helmets, for we always went armed, and he treated us all with politeness and distinction. Now I will give the names of those of Montezuma's captains who were punished by being burned, the principal one was Quetzalpopoca,[1] and the others were named, one of them Coate, and the other Quiavit, and I forget the name of the third, and it is not much use remembering their names. I may say that when the news of this punishment spread about throughout the provinces of New Spain, they were terrified, and the towns of the Coast, where they had killed our soldiers, returned again and rendered good service to the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. My interested readers who peruse these pages must have some respect for the great deeds we did in those days, first of all in destroying our ships, then in daring to enter so strong a city after receiving so many warnings that they would kill us when once they had us inside, then to have such great temerity as to seize Montezuma who was the King of the country in his own city and within his own palace, where he had such a numerous guard of warriors, then to dare to burn his captains in front of his palaces, and to place Montezuma himself in irons while the punishment was being carried out.

[1] Quauhpopoca (Orozco y Berra).

Now that I am old, I often pause to think over the heroic deeds we did in those days and I think I see them passing again before my eyes, and I say that our deeds were not done of ourselves, but were all guided by God, for what men have there been in the world who, numbering four hundred soldiers, (we did not even reach that number) would have dared to enter into such a strong city as Mexico, which is larger than Venice, and is distant from our own Castile more than fifteen hundred leagues, and take prisoner so great a Prince, and punish his Captains before his eyes! There is indeed much to ponder over but not in the dry-as-dust way in which I tell it.

I will go on and relate how Cortés at once despatched another captain to be stationed at Villa Rica in place of Juan de Escalante who was killed.

CHAPTER XCVI.

How our Cortés sent a gentleman named Alonzo de Grado as his lieutenant and captain to Villa Rica, in place of the Chief Alguacil Juan de Escalante, and how he gave the office of Chief Alguacil to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who from this time on was Alguacil Mayor, and what happened about it I will go on to tell.

AFTER justice had been done on Quetzalpopoca and his captains and the Great Montezuma had been tamed, our Captain decided to send to Villa Rica, as his lieutenant, a soldier named Alonzo de Grado, for he was a very prudent man of good address and presence, and a musician and a great writer.

This Alonzo de Grado was one of those who were always in opposition to our Cortés about going to Mexico, and wished us to go back to Villa Rica. And when at the time of the Tlaxcala affair there were certain meetings of

the discontented, as I have already stated in the Chapter which treats of the subject, it was always Alonzo de Grado who agitated. Had he been as good a man of war as he was a man of good manners, it would have been to his advantage. I say this because when Cortés gave him this appointment, as he was not a bold man, he was facetious in his remarks, and said to him, "Here, Señor Alonzo de Grado, you have your wish fulfilled for you are going now to Villa Rica as you have wished, and you will take charge of the fortress, and take care that you don't go out on any expeditions and get killed as Juan de Escalante did." And when he was saying this to him Cortés winked his eye, so that we soldiers who were standing round might see it, and we knew why he said this, for it was well known of Alonzo de Grado that he would not go on such an expedition even if he were ordered to do so with threats. When his orders and instructions as to what he was to do had been given him, Alonzo de Grado begged Cortés to do him the favour to give him the wand of Alguacil Mayor, as Juan de Escalante who had been killed by the Indians had held it. Cortés replied that he had already given it to Gonzalo de Sandoval, but that for him, in time to come there would not be wanting some other office even more honourable, and he bade him God speed, and charged him to look well after the settlers and to do them honour, and to see that he should cause no annoyance to our Indian Allies, and should take nothing from them by force and that he should at once send him two thick chains which he had ordered the two blacksmiths who remained in the town to make from the ironwork and anchors of the vessels that had been destroyed, and he told him to get on quickly with the fortress and finish putting in the woodwork and tiling the roof.

When Alonzo de Grado arrived at the town he gave himself great importance towards the settlers, and wished

to make them do him service as a great Lord, and to the allied towns which numbered more than thirty, he sent to demand jewels of gold and pretty Indian women and he paid no attention at all to the fortress. How he spent his time was in feeding well and in gambling, and what was worse than all this, he secretly called together his friends, and even some who were not his friends and suggested that if Diego Velásquez or any of his captains should come from Cuba to that country, that they should join him and give up the land to him. All this news was at once sent in haste by letter to Cortés in Mexico, and when he heard of it he was angry with himself for having sent Alonzo de Grado, knowing as he did his evil disposition and peevish temper, and as he always had it in his thoughts that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, by some means or other, would get to know that we had sent our attorneys to His Majesty, we should in no case turn to him for assistance, for there was danger that he might send a fleet and some captains against us. So it seemed to Cortés advisable to send some man whom he could trust to the port and town, and he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval who had been Chief Alguacil since the death of Juan de Escalante, and he took in his company Pedro de Ircio, who according to the Historian Gomara had gone to form a settlement at Panuco. So Pedro de Ircio went to the town and Gonzalo de Sandoval took a great liking to him, for Pedro de Ircio had been a servant in the house of the Conde de Ureña and of Don Pedro Giron and he was always telling stories about what happened to them. As Gonzalo de Sandoval was always kindly and had no guile in him, and Pedro de Ircio told those stories to please him, he took such a liking to him, that he promoted him until he became a Captain, and if now at the present time Pedro de Ircio, instead of thanks, has spoken words that should have remained unsaid, for which Gonzalo de Sandoval would have re-

proved him severely, the Holy Office should punish him for it.

Let us stop talking about outsiders, and return to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who when he arrived at Villa Rica sent Alonzo de Grado as a prisoner to Mexico under a guard of Indians, for so Cortés had told him to do. All the settlers became much attached to Gonzalo de Sandoval, for to those who remained there as invalids, he provided all the comforts that were possible, and showed them much kindness, and to the allied towns he dealt out even justice and assisted them in every way that he was able, and he began to set up the woodwork in the fort and to roof it and do everything else that it falls to the duty of a good Captain to accomplish, and it was very fortunate for Cortés and all of us that he did so, as will be seen later on at the proper time and occasion.

Let us leave Sandoval at the Villa Rica and return to Alonzo de Grado who arrived a prisoner in Mexico, and wished to go and speak to Cortés, but he [Cortés] would not allow him to be brought before him but ordered him to be imprisoned in some wooden stocks which had just been newly made. (I remember that the wood of those stocks had a scent of onions or garlic), and he remained a prisoner for two days.

As Alonzo de Grado was very plausible and a man of many expedients, he made many promises to Cortés that he would be his humble servant and loyal to him in all things, and gave so many indications of his desire to serve him that at length he convinced him, and he gained his release. From that time on I noticed that he was always favoured by Cortés, not that he gave him any command in war, but such things as suited him, and as time went on he gave him the office of auditor, which Alonzo de Ávila had held, for at that time he sent Alonzo as procurator to the Island of Santo Domingo, as I shall

tell later on, in its proper place. I must not forget to say that when Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to Villa Rica as his lieutenant, and Captain and Alguacil Mayor, he had ordered him, as soon as he arrived, to send two blacksmiths, with all their apparatus of bellows and tools and much iron from the ships which we had destroyed, and the two great iron chains which were already made, and he told him to send also sails and tackle, and pitch and tow and a mariner's compass, and everything else that was needed to build two sloops to sail on the lake of Mexico. These things Sandoval sent at once following in every particular the orders he had received.

CHAPTER XCVII.

How, when the great Montezuma was a prisoner, Cortés and all of us soldiers always entertained him and cheered him up, and even gave him permission to go hunting, and this was given in order to find out what his intentions were.

As our captain was careful in all things, and seeing that Montezuma was a prisoner, and fearing that he might become depressed at being shut in and confined, he endeavoured every day, after prayers (for we then had no wine for Mass) to go and pay court to him, and he went accompanied by four Captains, usually by Pedro de Alvarado, Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, and with much reverence they asked Montezuma how he was, and that he should issue his orders and they would all be carried out, so that he should not be weary of his confinement. He answered that on the contrary, being a prisoner rested him, and this was because our gods gave us power to confine him or his Huichilobos permitted it, and in one conversation after another they gave him to

understand more fully the things about our holy faith, and the great power of the Emperor our Lord.

Then sometimes Montezuma and Cortés would play at Totoloque, which is the name they give to a game played with some very smooth small pellets made of gold for this game, and they toss these pellets to some distance as well as some little slabs which were also made of gold, and in five strokes [tries] they gained or lost certain pieces of gold or rich jewels that they staked. I remember that Pedro de Alvarado was keeping the score for Cortés, and one of his nephews, a great cacique, was marking for Montezuma, and Pedro de Alvarado always marked one point more than Cortés gained, and when Montezuma saw it he said courteously and laughingly that he did not like Tonatio (for so they called Pedro de Alvarado) to keep the score for Cortés, because he made so much *yxoxol* in what he marked, which in their language means to say that he cheated, in that he always marked one point too many. Cortés and all of us soldiers who were on guard at the time, could not restrain our laughter at what the great Montezuma said. It may now be asked why we laughed at that expression, and it was because Pedro de Alvarado, although he was so handsome and well mannered, had a mānia for excessive talking, and as we knew his temperament, we all laughed so much. To return to the game, if Cortés won, he gave the jewels to those nephews and favourites of Montezuma who attended on him, and if Montezuma won he divided them among us soldiers on guard, and in addition to what he gave us from the game, he never omitted giving us every day presents of gold and cloth, both to us and to the captain of the Guard who, at that time, was Juan Velásquez de Leon, who showed himself ~~in~~ every way to be the friend and servant of Montezuma.

I also remember that at one time there was on guard

a soldier named somebody de Trujillo, a very tall man, in good health and very strong, and he was a seaman, and when it was his turn for the night's watch, he was so inconsiderate that—speaking with all respect for the gentlemen who read this—he acted indecently, and Montezuma heard him, and as he was the valiant King of this country, he considered it a proof of bad manners and disrespect that such a thing should be done in a place where he could hear it regardless of his presence. And he asked his page, Orteguilla, who that ill-conditioned and dirty person was, and the page replied that he was a man who was accustomed to travel on the sea and who knew nothing of courtesy and good breeding, and he also gave him information about the quality of all of us soldiers who were there, which was a gentleman and which not, and in continuation told him many things that Montezuma wished to know. To return to the soldier, Trujillo; as soon as it was day Montezuma sent to summon him, and asked him why he was so behaved that he had no consideration for his presence, and did not pay him that respect that was due to him, that he begged him never to do such a thing again, then he ordered him to be given a jewel of gold weighing five pesos. Trujillo paid no attention to what was said to him and the next night did the same again purposely, thinking that Montezuma might give him something else, but Montezuma had Juan Velásquez, Captain of the Guard, informed of it, and the Captain immediately removed Trujillo so that he should not again stand guard and they reprimanded him with rough words. It also happened that another soldier named Pedro López, a great crossbowman, a man in good health but who was not easily understood, was placed as sentinel over Montezuma, and on the question whether it was time to change the watch during the night, he had words with an officer and said, "Oh! curse this dog, I am sick to death of keeping

constant guard over him." Montezuma heard the expression, and weighed it in his mind, and when Cortés came to pay his court to him, he heard of it, and was so angry about it, that he had Pedro López, good soldier as he was, flogged in our quarters, and from that time on all the soldiers who came on guard, went through their watch in silence and good manners. However it was not necessary to give orders to many of us who stood guard over him about the civility that we ought to show to this great cacique; he knew each one of us and even knew our names and our characters and he was so kind that to all of us he gave jewels and to some mantles, and handsome Indian women. As I was a young man in those days, whenever I was on guard, or passed in front of him, I doffed my headpiece with the greatest respect, and the page Orteguilla had told him that I had been on two expeditions to discover New Spain before the time of Cortés, so I asked Orteguilla to beg Montezuma to do me the favour of giving me a very pretty Indian woman, and when Montezuma heard this he told them to call me, and he said to me: "Bernal Díaz del Castillo, they tell me that you have quantities of cloth and gold, and I will order them to give you to-day a pretty maid. Treat her very well for she is the daughter of a chieftain, and they will also give you gold and mantles," and I answered him with much reverence, that I kissed his hands for his great favour, and might God our Lord prosper him, and it seems that he asked the page what I had replied to him, and he told him; and Montezuma said to him, "Bernal Díaz seems to me to be a gentleman," for as I have said, he knew all our names, and he told them to give me three small slabs of gold and two loads of mantles.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how of a morning after saying his prayers and making sacrifices to his idols, he took his breakfast, which was a small matter, for he ate

no meat, only chili peppers,[1] then he was occupied for an hour in hearing suits from many parts brought by Caciques who came to him from distant lands. I have already stated in the chapter that tells about it, the manner in which they came in to do their business and the reverence that they showed to Montezuma, and that at such times he always had in his company twenty elderly men who were his judges to decide cases, and as this has been already noted I will not repeat it. It was then that we found out that from among the many women whom he had as his mistresses, he gave wives to his Captains and to very favourite chieftains, and he even gave some of them to our soldiers, and the one he gave to me was a lady from among them, and her bearing clearly showed it, and she was called Doña Francisca. So Montezuma passed his life, sometimes laughing and sometimes thinking about his imprisonment.

I wish to state here, although it has nothing to do with our story, as some inquisitive persons have asked me just why the soldier mentioned by me, who called Montezuma a dog, and even that not in his presence, was flogged by order of Cortés, (there being so few of us soldiers), so that the Indians should hear about it. I say so [again], that at that time all of us and even Cortés himself, when we appeared before the great Montezuma, paid respect to him by always doffing our headpieces and besides being King of New Spain, his person and his rank entitled him to it, and he was so kind and well mannered that he did honour to us all. In addition to all this, one may well remember that our lives were at stake, and at a word to his vassals, they would have removed him from his prison and made war on us. Observing his bearing and royal generosity, and seeing that he always had with him

[1] Ají.

many chieftains in his company, and the many other chieftains who came from distant lands, who paid great court to him, and the great number of persons to whom he daily gave food and drink, neither more nor less than when he was not in confinement, taking all this into consideration, Cortés was [naturally] very angry when he heard that such a word had been used about him ; and being irritated at it, he at once ordered the punishment as I have said, and it was well deserved.

Let us go on and tell how at that moment there arrived from Villa Rica Indians carrying the thick chains which Cortés had ordered the blacksmiths to make, and they also brought all the things necessary for the sloops that I have spoken about, and when they had all arrived, Montezuma was told of it, and I will leave off here and go on to relate what happened about it.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

How Cortés ordered two sloops to be built, of considerable burden and fast sailers, for use on the lake, and how the great Montezuma asked Cortés to give him permission to go and pray at his temples, and what Cortés answered, and how he gave him permission.

As all the materials for building the two sloops had arrived, Cortés at once went to tell the great Montezuma that he wished to build two small ships so as to take pleasure trips on the lake and asked him to send his carpenters to cut the wood, together with our experts in boat-building, who were named Martin López and Andrés Nuñez. As the oak timber was distant about four leagues, it was soon brought and shaped, and as there were many Indian carpenters, the boats were soon built and caulked and tarred, and their rigging was set up and their sails cut to the right size and measurement, and an awning provided

for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on ; he was also a good soldier in war time.

Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

Alvarado, Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco de Lugo and one hundred and fifty soldiers, and the Padre de la Merced also went with us to stop the sacrifice if he should offer human beings. So we went to the Cue of Huichilobos and when we came near to that cursed temple, he [Montezuma] ordered them to take him from his litter and he was carried on the shoulders of his nephews and of other Caciques until he arrived at the temple; as I have already stated, as he went through the streets all the chieftains cast down their eyes and never looked at his face. When we arrived at the foot of the steps leading to the oratory there were many priests waiting to help him with their arms in the ascent.

There had already been sacrificed the night before four Indians, and in spite of what our Captain said and the dissuasions of the Padre de la Merced, he paid no heed but persisted in killing men and boys to accomplish his sacrifice, and we could do nothing at that time only pretend not to notice it, for Mexico and the other great cities were very ready to rebel under the nephews of Montezuma, as I shall explain further on. When he [Montezuma] had completed his sacrifices, and he did not tarry much in making them, we returned with him to our quarters, and he was very cheerful, and gave presents of golden jewels to us soldiers who had accompanied him.

Let us leave this here, and I will relate what next happened.

CHAPTER XCIX.

How we launched the two sloops, and how the Great Montezuma said that he wished to go hunting, and went in the sloops to a rocky Island[1] where there were many deer and much other game, for no one went hunting there under pain of very severe punishment.

WHEN the two sloops were finished building and had been launched, and the masts and rigging had been set up and adorned with the Royal and Imperial banners, and the sailors had been got ready to navigate them, they went out in them both rowing and sailing, and they sailed very well. When Montezuma heard of it, he said to Cortés that he wished to go hunting on a rocky Island standing in the lake which was preserved so that no one dared to hunt there, however great a chief he might be, under pain of death. Cortés replied that he was very welcome to go, but he must remember what he had told him on the former occasion when he went to visit his Idols, that to raise any disturbances was more than his life was worth; [moreover] he could go in the sloops, as it was better sailing in them than in the canoes and pirogues however large they might be. Montezuma said that he would be delighted to sail in the sloop that was the swiftest, and he took with him many lords and chieftains, and advised his huntsmen to follow in canoes and pirogues. A son of Montezuma and many Caciques went in the other sloop. Then Cortés ordered Velásquez de Leon who was captain of the Guard and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila with two hundred soldiers, to accompany Montezuma, and to remember the great responsibility he was placing on them in looking after him, and as all those Captains whom I have named were very alert, they took on board all the soldiers I have spoken about, and four

[1] The *Peñon de Tepepolco* or *del Marques.*

bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off

its quarry, one of them, named Francisco de Sauzedo, the elegant, who had been house steward to the Admiral of Castile, called out, "Oh! what a beautiful hawk! and how well he struck and how well he flew," and most of the soldiers answered that it was capital and that there were hereabouts many good birds for hawking, and Montezuma was watching what we said, and he asked his page Orteguilla about our conversation, and he replied that those Captains were saying that the hawk which came in hunting was a very good one, and that if we had some like it we would show him how it would come to hand, and that in the open, when it was flown at any bird, although it might be rather a large one, it would kill it. Then Montezuma said: "Then I will send now to have that same hawk caught, and we will see if you can tame it and hunt with it." All of us who were present doffed our head-pieces and thanked him for his kindness, and he at once sent to summon his fowlers, and told them to bring him that same hawk, and they were so skilful in its capture, that by the time of Ave Maria they brought that very hawk and gave it to Francisco de Sauzedo, and he showed it the lure, but as other things soon happened to us more important than the chase, I will stop talking about it now, but I have told the story because he was such a great Prince, that not only did he take tribute from nearly all parts of New Spain, and lord it over so many lands, and make himself fully obeyed, but even when he was a prisoner his vassals trembled before him, and they even captured for him the birds that fly in the air. Let us waive this and say how by degrees adverse fortune turned its wheel.

At that time it had been agreed between the nephews and relations of the great Montezuma and other Caciques and throughout all the country that we should be attacked

and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

that he understood his flatteries and did not want to hear any more of them, but that when he saw him coming then he would say to him whatever he liked. Cortés again sent to tell him that he should beware not to do an ill turn to our King and Lord, for he would pay for it with his person, and lose his life for it. He replied that he knew no King and wished he had never known Cortés, who, for all his fair words, had imprisoned his uncle.

When he [Cacamatzin] sent this answer, our Captain implored Montezuma, as he was such a great Prince, and had among his Captains in Texcoco both great Caciques and kinsmen who were not friendly with Cacamatzin, who was very haughty and much disliked, and as Montezuma had with him there in Mexico a brother of this same Cacamatzin, a youth of a good disposition, who had fled from his own brother to escape being killed by him, (for after Cacamatzin he was the heir to the kingdom of Texcoco,) [our captain implored Montezuma] to concert measures with his people in Texcoco to seize Cacamatzin, or to send secretly to summon him to come [to Mexico,] and if he did come, to lay hands on him and keep him in his power until he had quieted down. Moreover as this (other) nephew was in his house and was subject to him, he should presently promote him to be the Lord and should take the chieftainship from Cacamatzin, who was doing him an injury and going about stirring up all the cities and Caciques of the land to make him Lord over his [Montezuma's] city and kingdom.

Montezuma said that he would at once send to summon him, but he did not think he would come, and that if he did not come he would make arrangements with his Captains and relations to seize him.

Cortés thanked him heartily for this, and even said: "Señor Montezuma, you may indeed believe me that if you wish to go to your Palace, you are free to do so,

for since I understand that you are well disposed towards me, I am so devoted to you, that were I not in such a [difficult] position, I would not even insist upon accompanying you when you proceed to your palace with all your nobility. If I have failed to carry out such a plan, it is on account of my Captains who went to seize you, for they are not willing that I should set you free, and also because you say that you prefer to stay in confinement so as to avoid the disturbances through which your nephews would attempt to obtain power over this City of yours, and deprive you of your rule."

Montezuma answered that he thanked him, and as he began to understand Cortés' flattering speeches and saw that he made them, not with any intention of setting him free, but only to test his good will, and also because his page Orteguilla had told him that it was our captains who had advised Cortés to take him prisoner, and he must not believe that Cortés would set him free without their consent, Montezuma added that it was as well for him to remain a prisoner until he could see whither the treachery of his nephews would lead. Moreover he would immediately send messengers to Cacamatzin, begging him to appear before him, as he wished to speak to him about friendship between him and us, and would send to tell him, that as for his imprisonment he need not trouble himself about it, that had he desired to free himself many opportunities for doing so had offered, and that Malinche had twice told him to return to his palace, but he did not wish to do so, but to fulfil the commands of his Gods that he should remain a prisoner. Indeed if he did not so remain, he would soon be a dead man, and the priests who ministered to the Idols had known this for many days, and for this reason it would be advisable to be on good terms with Malinche and his brothers. Montezuma sent the same message to the Captains of Texcoco, telling

them that he was sending to summon his nephew to make friends, adding that they should beware how that youth turned their brains so that they would take up arms against us.

Let us leave this talk, which Cacamatzin thoroughly understood, for he took counsel with his chiefs as to what should be done. Cacamatzin then began to bluster and say that he would kill us all within four days, and that his uncle was a chicken not to attack us when he advised him to do so, when we were coming down the mountain towards Chalco, where he had the troops all posted and everything ready, that [instead of doing so] he personally received us in his city as though he knew that we had come to confer some benefit on him, and had given us all the gold that had been brought to him as tribute. Moreover we had broken into and opened the house where the treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was stored, and added to all this we had taken Montezuma prisoner, and were already telling him that he must get rid of the Idols of the great Huichilobos, as we wished to set up our own in their places. So that things should not come to a worse pass, and so as to punish such deeds and affronts, he [Cacamatzin] prayed his chieftains to give him their help, for all that he had told them they had seen with their own eyes, even how we had burnt Montezuma's own Captains, and nothing more could be endured, and they ought all to unite as one man and make war on us.

Cacamatzin promised them there and then, that if the Lordship of Mexico should fall to him, he would make them great chieftains, and he also gave them many golden jewels, and told them that he had already made arrangements with his cousins, the lords of Coyoacan and Iztapalapa and Tacuba and other relations, to help him, and there were other chieftains in Mexico itself who would assist him and let him into the city at whatever hour he might

choose. He said that some of them might go along the causeway and all the rest could go across the lake in their pirogues and small canoes, and they would enter the city without meeting opponents to defend it, for his uncle was a prisoner, and they need have no fear of us, for they knew that only a few days ago, in the affair of Almeria, his uncle's Captains had killed many Teules and a horse, and they had seen the head of the Teul and the body of the horse; that they could kill us all in an hour and could have feasts and stuff themselves with our bodies.

When this speech was finished, they say that the Captains looked at one another, waiting for those who usually spoke first in councils of war, and that four or five of these Captains replied to him, how was it possible for them to go without the permission of their great prince Montezuma, and wage war in his very house and city? that they should first send to let him know about it, and if he consented, they would accompany Cacamatzin with the greatest good will; but otherwise they did not wish to turn traitors. It seems that Cacamatzin was angered with the Captains and ordered three of those who gave that reply to be imprisoned. As there were present at that meeting and council others, who were his relations, who were longing for a riot, they said that they would aid him to the death. So he decided to send to his uncle the great Montezuma to say that he ought to be ashamed of sending him word to come and make friends with those who had done him such harm and dishonour in holding him a prisoner, that such a thing was only possible because we were wizards and had stolen away all his great strength and bravery with our witchcraft, and that our gods and this great lady from Castile, whom we said was our Counsellor, had given us the great power to do what we had done. And in this which he said last he was not in error, for it was certainly the great mercy of God and his

blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us.

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company.

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma.

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

I have already said that he had come here to seek the protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

[1] Cuicuitzcatzin.

Our Cortés and the other Captains and the Friar of the Order of Mercy were always paying court to him, and giving him pleasure in every way that was possible, and they joked with him, not in any way disrespectfully, and I may add that neither Cortés nor any of our Captains ever seated themselves until Montezuma sent for his rich chairs and told them to sit down, and in such things he was so considerate that we all had a great affection for him, for he was truly a great Prince in everything that we saw him do.

To go back to our story; sometimes they explained to him the matters touching our holy faith, especially the Friar, through the page Orteguilla, and apparently some of the good words entered his heart, for he listened to them with more attention than before. They also made him understand about the great power of our Lord the Emperor, and how many great princes from distant lands became his vassals and obeyed his commands, and they told him many other things that he was interested to hear. At other times, as I have said before, Cortés played Totoloque with him. And in such ways we were always paying him court, and he, as he was in no way niggardly, gave us every day jewels of gold and mantles.

I will now stop talking of this, and will go on with my story.

CHAPTER CI.

How the great Montezuma and many Caciques and chieftains of the territory gave their fealty to His Majesty, and what else happened about it.

WHEN Captain Cortés saw that those kinglets named by me were prisoners, and that all the cities were at peace, he said to Montezuma that, before we had entered Mexico, he [Montezuma] had twice sent to say that he wished to pay

tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain; through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do.

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are :—

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original,

Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cuzula (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

Tertia Ferdinādi Cortesii de Noua Maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio.

IN NOVA MARIS OCEANI HYSPANIA GENE-ralis præfecti p̄clara Narratio, In qua Celebris Ciuitatis Temixtitan expugnatio, aliarūq; Prouinciarū, quę defecerant recuperatio continetur, In quarū expugnatione, recuperationeq; Præfectus, una cum Hyſpanis Victorias æterna memoria dignas consequutus eſt, p̄terea In ea Mare del Sur Corteſium detexiſſe recēſet, quod nos Auſtrale Indicū Pelagus putam9, & alias innumeras Prouintias Aurifodinis, Vnionibus, Variisq; Gemmarum generibus refertas. Et poſtremo illis innotuiſſe in eis quoq; Aromatae ontineri, Per Doctorē Petrum Sauorgnanū Foroiulienſem Reuerēdiſſimi in Chriſto patris dñi Io. de Reuelles Epiſcopi Vienenſis Secretarium Ex Hyſpano ydiomate In Latinum Verſa,

CHARLES V.

(From Praeclara Ferdinādi Cortesii Noua Maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio. MDXXIIII.)

letter when he mentions Coastoaca (Coixtlahuaca) and Tamazula (either Tamazola or Tamazulapa), which are in the same neighbourhood, as places visited during these expeditions.

The only slight corroboration of an expedition to Zacatula is the casual mention by Bernal Díaz of Matalzingo, which is near Toluca, and would be on the way to Zacatula, but the frequent repetition of the same names in different localities prevents much reliance being placed on it.

No definite information is given as to the routes by which the expeditions travelled.

The expedition under Pizarro probably travelled by way of Tehuacan or Orizaba to Malinaltepec on the upper waters of the Papaloapan River, where they would be within a short distance both of Tuxtepec and the land of the Chinantecs, and although Cortés is not very clear on the matter, there is no reason to suppose that all three places were not visited by members of the same expedition.

With regard to the expedition under Diego de Ordás in search of a good harbour, Cortés gives the additional information that the party went first to Vera Cruz and then marched all along the coast to Coatzacoalcos, examining in canoes the bays and the mouths of the rivers that were crossed.

CHAPTER CII.

How our Cortés endeavoured to find out about the Gold Mines, what was their value, and in what rivers they were found, and what harbours there were for ships between Panuco and Tabasco, especially about the great river at Coatzacoalcos, and what happened about it.

WHEN Cortés and the other Captains were with Montezuma paying him court, among other things that he said through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and Orteguilla, he asked Montezuma where the mines were, and in which rivers, and how and by what means they collected the gold which they brought him in grains, for he wished to send two of our soldiers who were expert miners to see it. Montezuma replied that there were three

places, but they usually brought most of the gold from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from that city (Mexico). The gold was collected in xicales[1] by washing away the earth, so that after the earth was washed away some grains of gold remained. At the present time they also brought it to him from another province called Tustepec near where we disembarked on the north coast where it was gathered from two rivers. Near that province there were other good mines in a land that was not subject to him, named the land of the Chinantecs and Zapotecs, who did not obey his rule. If Cortés wished to send his soldiers he would give them Chieftains to go with them. Cortés thanked him for it, and at once despatched a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, with two other soldiers who were miners to the mines of Zacatula. This Gonzalo de Umbria was the man whose feet Cortés had ordered to be cut off when he hanged Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño[2] and flogged the Peñates for their attempt to carry off a ship at San Juan de Ulua, as I have written down more at length in the chapter which deals with the incident.

Let us stop talking about the past and say how they set out with Umbria, a limit of forty days being allowed them in which to go and return.

To examine the mines on the north coast Cortés sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man about twenty years old, whom he treated as a relation. At that time there was no mention of Peru, nor were the Pizarros talked about in these lands. Pizarro set out with four oldiers, and he also was given forty days in which to go and return, for the distance was about eighty leagues from Mexico, and four Mexican chieftains accompanied him.

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[1] gourds

[2] See note on page 207, vol. i,

After, as I have said, they had set off to inspect the mines, let me go back to say how the great Montezuma gave our Captain a hennequen cloth, on which were painted and marked very true to nature, all the rivers and bays on the Northern coast from Panuco to Tabasco, that is for a matter of one hundred and forty leagues, and the river of Coatzacoalcos was marked on it. As we already knew all the harbours and bays marked on the cloth which Montezuma gave to Cortés, from the time we came on the voyage of discovery with Grijalva, except the river of Coatzacoalcos, which they said was very strong and deep, Cortés determined to send and see what it was like, and to take soundings of the harbour and the entrance. One of our captains named Diego de Ordás, a very prudent and valiant man, who has often been mentioned by me, said to our Captain that he would like to go and see that river, and what sort of country there was there, and what the people were like, and asked for Indian Chieftains to go with him, and Cortés had refused, because he was a man of good counsel and he wished to keep him in his company. However, so as not to displease him, he [now] granted him leave to go. Montezuma told Ordás that his authority did not extend over Coatzacoalcos, that the people there were very bold, and that he should take care what he was about, and if anything happened to him, they must not blame him [Montezuma] for it; that before arriving at that province he would come on the garrison of warriors he kept on the border, and that if he [Ordás] had need of them he might take them with him, and he [Montezuma] paid him many compliments besides. Cortés and Diego de Ordás gave him their thanks, and Ordás set out with two soldiers and some chieftains whom Montezuma sent with him.

This is where the historian Francisco Lopez Gomara says that Juan Velásquez with one hundred soldiers went to form a settlement at Coatzacoalcos, and that Pedro de

Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented,

Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about.

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former

chapter which treats of the subject. Let us go on to say that as soon as the Caciques of Coatzacoalcos understood what the object of Ordás was, they supplied him with many large canoes, and the Cacique Tochel himself and many other chieftains took soundings at the mouth of the river, and they found the depth to be three full fathoms in the shallowest place without counting the ebb.[1] A little further up the river there is room for large ships to navigate, and the higher up they went the deeper it became, and near a town which at that time was inhabited by Indians, there was room for carracks. When Ordás had taken the soundings, he went with the Caciques to the town, and they gave him some jewels of gold and a very beautiful Indian woman, and they offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and they complained of Montezuma and of his garrison of warriors, and said that a short time before they had fought a battle with them near a small town, and that the people of that province had killed many of the Mexicans, and for that reason they now call the place where that battle was fought, Cuylonemiquis, which in their language means "where they killed the Mexican profligates."[2]

Ordás thanked them heartily for the honour he had received, and gave them some Spanish beads which he had brought for that purpose. Then he returned to Mexico and was joyfully received by Cortés and all of us, and he said there was good land for cattle and farming, and the port was convenient for the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, but it was far from Mexico, and there were great swamps there. For this reason we never had much confidence in this harbour for landing goods and trading with Mexico.

Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and

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[1] Sin la de Cayda, *i.e.*, at low water.

[2] "Putos."

his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

remember its value,) and with agreeable speeches he promised to be a friend to the Chinantecas and to assist them. Then he told them to go back to their country, and, so that they should not be molested by the Mexicans on the road, he ordered two Mexican Chieftains to conduct them back to their country and not to leave them until they had seen them in safety; so they went away well contented.

To return to our story; Cortés, asked about the other soldiers whom Pizarro had taken in his company, namely, Barrientos and Heredia the elder and Escalona the younger, and Cervantes the Jester, and Pizarro replied that as that seemed to be a very good country and rich in mines, and the towns through which he passed were very peaceful, he ordered them to make a large farm of cacao and maize, and other farms besides for cotton, and told them to collect there many of the birds of the country, and that from that place they should go and examine all the rivers and see what mines there were. Although Cortés said nothing at the time, he was not pleased at his relation for having exceeded his instructions, and we heard that privately he scolded him well about it, and said that he was a poor character to wish to be employed about such things as breeding birds and planting cacao,[1] and he at once sent another soldier named Alonzo Luis to summon the rest whom Pizarro had left behind. Alonzo Luis carried a peremptory order for them to return at once, and what those soldiers did I will relate further on in its proper time and place.

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[1] Cortés does not fail to take great credit to himself in regard to the formation of these plantations when writing his second letter to the Emperor.

CHAPTER CIV.

How Cortés told the great Montezuma that he should order all his Caciques throughout the land to pay tribute to His Majesty, for it was generally known that they possessed gold, and what was done about it.

As Captain Diego de Ordás and the other soldiers already named by me, arrived with samples of gold and the report that all the land was rich, Cortés, by the advice of Ordás and the other Captains and soldiers, decided to speak to, and demand of Montezuma, that all the Caciques and towns of the land should pay tribute to His Majesty, and that he himself as the greatest Chieftain, should also contribute from his treasure. Montezuma replied that he would send to all his towns to ask for gold, but that many of them did not possess any, only some jewels of little worth which had come to them from their ancestors. He at once despatched chieftains to the places where there were mines and ordered each town to give so many ingots of fine gold, of the same size and thickness as others that they were used to pay as tribute, and the messengers carried with them as samples two small ingots. From other parts they only brought small jewels of little worth.

He also sent to the province whose Cacique and Lord was that near kinsman of his who did not wish to obey him, who has already been mentioned by me. This province was distant from Mexico about twelve leagues, and the reply the messengers brought back was to the effect that he neither wished to give any gold nor to obey Montezuma, that he also was Lord of Mexico and that the dominion belonged to him as much as to Montezuma himself, who was sending to ask him to pay tribute.

When Montezuma heard this he was so enraged that he immediately sent his seal and sign by some faithful

captains with orders to bring him as a prisoner. When this kinsman was brought into Montezuma's presence he spoke to him very disrespectfully and without any fear, and very valiantly, and they say that he had intervals of madness, for he was as though thunderstruck. Cortés came to know all about this, and he sent to beg Montezuma as a favour, to give this man to him as he wished to place a guard over him, for he had been told that Montezuma had ordered him to be killed. When the Cacique was brought before him Cortés spoke to him in a most amiable manner and told him not to act like a madman against his prince, and wished to set him free. However, when Montezuma heard this he said that he should not be set free but should be attached to the great chain like the other Kinglets already named by me.

Let us go back to say that within twenty days all the chieftains whom Montezuma had sent to collect the tribute of gold, as I have already mentioned, came back again. And as they arrived Montezuma sent to summon Cortés and our captains and certain soldiers whom he knew, who belonged to his guard, and said these formal words, or others of like meaning :—

"I wish you to know, Señor Malinche and Señores Captains and soldiers, that I am indebted to your great King, and I bear him good will both for being such a great Prince and for having sent to such distant lands to make inquiries about me; and the thought that most impresses me is that he must be the one who is to rule over us, as our ancestors have told us, and as even our gods have given us to understand in the answers we have received from them. Take this gold which has been collected; on account of haste no more has been brought. That which I have got ready for the Emperor is the whole of the Treasure which I have received from my father, which is in your possession and in your apartments.

"I know well enough that as soon as you came here you opened the chamber and beheld it all, and that you sealed it up again as it was before. When you send it to him, tell him in your papers and letters, 'This is sent to you by your true vassal Montezuma.' I will also give you some very valuable stones which you will send to him in my name; they are Chalchihuites, and are not to be given to any one else but only to him, your Great Prince. Each stone is worth two loads of gold. I also wish to send him three blow guns with their bags and pellet moulds for they have such good jewelwork on them that he will be pleased to see them, and I also wish to give him of what I possess although it is but little, for all the rest of the gold and jewels that I possessed I have given you from time to time."

When Cortés and all of us heard this we stood amazed at the great goodness and liberality of the Great Montezuma, and with much reverence we all doffed our helmets, and returned him our thanks, and with words of the greatest affection Cortés promised him that he would write to His Majesty of the magnificence and liberality of this gift of gold which he gave us in his own royal name. After some more polite conversation Montezuma at once sent his Mayordomos to hand over all the treasure and gold and wealth that was in that plastered chamber, and in looking it over and taking off all the embroidery with which it was set, we were occupied for three days, and to assist us in undoing it and taking it to pieces, there came Montezuma's goldsmiths from the town named Azcapotzalco,[1] and I say that there was so much, that after it was taken to pieces there were three heaps of gold, and they weighed more than six hundred thousand pesos, as I shall tell further on,—without the silver and many other rich

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

things, and not counting in this the ingots and slabs of gold, and the gold in grains from the mines. We began to melt it down with the help of the Indian goldsmiths, who were, as I have said, natives of Azcapotzalco and they made broad bars of it, each bar measuring three fingers of the hand across. When it was already melted and made into bars, they brought another present separately which the Grand Montezuma had said that he would give, and it was a wonderful thing to behold the wealth of gold and the richness of the other jewels that were brought, for some of the Chalchihuites were so fine that among these Caciques they were worth a vast quantity of gold. The three blow guns with their pellet moulds, and their coverings of jewels and pearls, and pictures in feathers of little birds covered with pearlshell and other birds, all were of great value. I will not speak of the plumes and feathers and other rich things for I shall never finish calling them to mind.

Let me say that all the gold I have spoken about was marked with an iron stamp, which had been made by order of Cortés and the King's Officers, who had been appointed by Cortés with the consent of all of us and in the name of His Majesty until he should give other instructions. At that time these were Gonzalo Mejía who was treasurer, and Alonzo Dávila who was accountant, and the stamp was the royal arms like those on a real[1] and the size of a testoon.[2] The mark was not put on the rich jewels which it did not seem to us should be taken to pieces.

For weighing all these bars of gold and silver, and the jewels which were not taken to pieces, we had neither marked weights nor scales, and it seemed to Cortés and to

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[1] Real, a small silver coin.

[2] "Toston de a quatro," a half peso = four reals.

these same officers of His Majesty's treasury that it would be as well to make some iron weights, some as much as an arroba,[1] others of half an arroba, two pounds, one pound and half a pound, and of four ounces, and so many ounces, and this not that it would turn out very exact, but within half an ounce more or less in each lot that was weighed.

After the weight was taken the officers of the King said that there was of gold, both that which was cast in bars as well as grains from the mines, and in ingots and jewels, more than six hundred thousand pesos, and this was without counting the silver and many other jewels which were not yet valued.

Some soldiers said that there was more. As there was now nothing more to do than to take out the royal fifth, and to give to each captain and soldier his share, and to set aside the shares of those who remained at the port of Villa Rica, it seems that Cortés endeavoured not to have it divided up so soon, but to wait until there was more gold, and there were good weights, and proper accounts of how it turned out. But most of us captains and soldiers said that it should be divided up at once, for we had seen that at the time when the pieces were given out of the Treasury of Montezuma, there was much more gold in the heaps, and that a third part of it was missing, which they had taken and hidden both on behalf of Cortés, as well as of the Captains and the Fraile de la Merced, and it went on diminishing. In consequence of much argument what was left was weighed out, and they found over 600,000 pesos without the jewels and slabs, and next day they were to distribute the shares, and I will tell how it was divided, and the greater part remained with Captain Cortés and other persons, and what was done about it I will go on to relate.

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[1] An arroba=25 lbs.

CHAPTER CV.

How the gold which we had obtained was divided, both that which was given by the Great Montezuma, as well as that which had been collected from the towns, and what happened to a soldier about it.

FIRST of all the royal fifth was taken out, then Cortés said that they should take out for him another fifth, the same as for His Majesty, for we had promised it to him at the sand dunes when we elected him Captain General and Chief Justice, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that matter. After that, he said that he had been put to certain expenses in the Island of Cuba and that what he had spent on the expedition should be taken from the heap, and in addition to this that there should be taken from the same heap the expenses incurred by Diego Velásquez in the ships which we had destroyed, and we all agreed to it, and beside this the expenses of the procurators who were sent to Spain. Then there were the shares of those who remained in Villa Rica, and there were seventy of them, and for his horse that had died, and for the mare which had belonged to Juan Sedeño which the Tlaxcalans had killed with a sword cut; then for the Fraile de la Merced, and the priest Juan Díaz and the Captains and for those who had brought horses, double shares, and for musketeers and crossbowmen the same, and other trickeries, so that very little was left to each as a share, and it was so little that many of the soldiers did not want to take it, and Cortés was left with it all. At that time we could do nothing but hold our tongues, for to ask for justice in the matter was useless. There were other soldiers who took their shares at the rate of one hundred pesos and clamoured for the rest, and to content them Cortés secretly gave to one and

the other, apparently bestowing favours so as to satisfy them, and with the smooth speeches that he made to them they put up with it. Let us turn to the shares which remained for those who were in Villa Rica which he ordered to be sent to Tlaxcala to be taken care of there, and as it was badly divided, so it ended [badly], as I shall relate at the proper time.

At that time many of our Captains ordered very large golden chains to be made by the Great Montezuma's goldsmiths, who I have already said had a large town of their own called Azcapotzalco, half a league from Mexico. Cortés, too, ordered many jewels made, and a great service of plate. Some of our soldiers had their hands so full, that many ingots of gold, marked and unmarked, and jewels of a great diversity of patterns were openly in circulation. Heavy gaming was always going on with some playing cards which were made from drum skins by Pedro Valenciano and were as well made and painted as the originals. So this was the condition we were in, but let us stop talking of the gold and of the bad way it was divided, and worse way in which it was spent, and say what happened to a soldier named something de Cárdenas. It seems that this soldier had been a pilot and seaman, and was a native of Triana or of that county, and the poor fellow had a wife and family at home, and as happens to many of us he was destined to remain poor, so he came to seek for a livelihood with the intention of returning to his wife and children. As he had seen so much wealth of gold in slabs and in grains from the mines, and in ingots and bars, and when it was divided up he found that they only gave him a hundred pesos, he fell ill at the thought of it through sadness. When one of his friends saw him day by day so depressed and ill, he went to see him and asked him why he was like that and sighed so much from time to time. The Pilot Cárdenas, that is the man who

was ill, answered him: "Curse it all, have I no right to be ill, seeing that Cortés has carried off all the gold, and like a king takes a fifth, and has charged for his horse that died, and for the ships of Diego Velásquez, and for many other underhand claims, and that my wife and children die of hunger. I might have helped them when the procurators went with our letters, but we gave them all the gold and silver which we had acquired up to that time." Then his friend said to him, "How much gold had you got to send them?" and Cárdenas replied, "If Cortés would give me my share of what is due to me, my wife and children could live on it and even have to spare, but see what tricks he played us, making us sign that we would be doing a service to His Majesty by giving up our shares, and then taking out of the gold over six thousand pesos for his father Martin Cortés, besides what he hid away, while I and other poor men have been fighting by night and by day, as you have seen in the late wars in Tabasco and Tlaxcala, and in those at Cingapacinga and Cholula, and we are now in the greatest danger, looking death in the face every day should there be a rebellion in this city, in order that Cortés may carry off all the gold and take his fifth like a King."

And he said other things about it, and that we ought not to allow him to take that fifth, nor did we want so many kings, we only wanted His Majesty. His companion replied and said to him: "This anxiety is killing you, and now you can see that everything that is brought in by Montezuma and the Caciques is absorbed, by this one under his chin, by that in his pocket, and by another under his arm, and that all goes whither Cortés and his captains choose, they carry off everything even to the food. Get rid of such thoughts as these and pray God that we do not lose our lives in this city." Then the conversation ended, but it reached the ears of Cortés, and as they told him that

many of the soldiers were discontented over their share of the gold and the way the heaps had been robbed, he determined to make a speech to them all with honeyed words, and he said that all he owned was for us, and he did not want the fifth but only the share that came to him as Captain General, and that if any one had need of anything he would give it to him, and that the gold we had collected was but a breath of air, that we should observe what great cities there were there and rich mines, and that we should be lords of them all and very prosperous and rich, and he used other arguments very well expressed which he knew well how to employ. In addition to this he secretly gave to some of the soldiers jewels of gold and to others he made great promises, and he ordered that the food brought by Montezuma's stewards should be divided among all the soldiers so that he and all of them should share alike. In addition to this he called Cárdenas apart and flattered him with words and promised to send him back to Spain to his wife and children in the first ship that should sail, and he gave him three hundred dollars, and this contented him. I will stop here and will relate in its proper place what happened to Cárdenas when he went to Spain, and how he was very hostile to Cortés in the affairs that were brought before His Majesty.

CHAPTER CVI.

How Juan Velásquez de Leon and the Treasurer, Gonzalo Mejía, had words about the gold that was missing from the heaps before it was melted down, and what Cortés did about it.

As all men in general covet gold, and the more they have the more they want, it happened that as many known pieces of gold were missing from the heaps already mentioned by me, and at the same time Juan Velásquez de

Leon employed Indians of Azcapotzalco, (who were all of them goldsmiths to the Great Montezuma,) to make him large gold chains and pieces of plate for his table service, Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, told him privately to deliver them to him as they had not paid the fifth and were known to belong to the treasure that Montezuma had presented. Juan Velásquez de Leon who was a great favourite with Cortés replied that he was not going to give up anything, and that he had not taken anything from what had been collected, nor from any one else, only what Cortés had given him before the bars were cast. Gonzalo Mejía answered him that what Cortés had hidden and taken from his companions was more than enough, and that, as treasurer, he demanded much gold which had not paid the royal fifth. From words to words they lost control of themselves and drew their swords, and if we had not quickly separated them, both of them would there have ended their lives, for they were men of much merit and brave fighters, and they came out of it wounded, each with two wounds. When Cortés heard of it, he ordered them to be put in prison, and each one to be attached to a heavy chain, and it appears from what many soldiers reported that Cortés said privately to Juan Velásques de Leon that, as he was a great friend of his, he should remain a prisoner for two days tied to this same chain, and that he would release Gonzalo Mejía as he was treasurer. Cortés did this to prove to all the captains and soldiers that he would do justice and that although Juan Velásquez was hand and glove with him, he would keep him prisoner. Many other things happened with regard to Gonzalo Mejía, who told Cortés that he had taken on the sly much of the gold that was missing, and that all the soldiers were complaining of it to him as the treasurer, and they wanted to know why he did not demand restitution from the Captain; but because it is all a very long story I will omit it, and I will go on

now to tell how Juan Velásquez de Leon was imprisoned in a hall near to Montezuma's chamber, and attached to a heavy chain. Juan Velásquez was a man of great stature and very strong, and when he moved about the hall he dragged the chain after him and it made a great noise, and Montezuma heard it and asked of his page Orteguilla who it was that Cortés held a prisoner in chains; the page replied that it was Juan Velásquez who had formerly been the guard over his person, (for at that time he was no longer Captain of the Guard but Cristóbal de Olid), and Montezuma asked what was the reason of his imprisonment, and the page told him that it was on account of some gold that was missing.

That same day Cortés went to pay his court to Montezuma, and after the usual civilities and some conversation had passed, Montezuma asked Cortés, why he made a prisoner of Juan Velásquez, seeing that he was such a good and valiant captain; for, as I have said before, Montezuma knew us all and even our characters. Cortés answered half laughingly, that Juan Velásquez was touched, which means mad, because they had not given him much gold, and he wished to go to Montezuma's towns and cities and demand it from the Caciques, and so as to prevent him killing any one he had put him in prison.

Montezuma replied that he begged Cortés to release him and send him to look for more gold, and said that he would give him some of his own. Cortés pretended that it went against the grain with him to release him, but at last he said that to please Montezuma it should be done, and he sentenced him to be banished from the camp and to go to a town named Cholula with some of Montezuma's messengers to seek for gold. First of all Juan Velásquez and Gonzalo de Mejía were reconciled. I noticed that he [Juan Velásquez] returned from his banishment within six days, and brought more gold with him, and that from that

time on Gonzalo Mejía and Cortés were not very good friends. I have called all this to mind although it is outside my story, so that one may see that Cortés, under colour of doing justice, so that we should fear him, was full of craftiness, and I will leave off here.

CHAPTER CVII.

How the Great Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and what Cortés answered. Nevertheless he took her and they served and honoured her as was becoming to the daughter of such a Prince.

I HAVE many times said that Cortés and all of us always endeavoured to please and serve Montezuma and to pay him court. One day Montezuma said, "Look here, Malinche, I love you so much that I want to give you one of my daughters, who is very beautiful, so that you can marry her and treat her as your legitimate wife"; Cortés doffed his cap in thanks, and said that it was a great favour that Montezuma was conferring on him, but that he was already married and had a wife, and that among us we were not permitted to have more than one wife, he would however keep her [Montezuma's daughter] in the rank to which the daughter of so great a prince was entitled, but that first of all he desired her to become a Christian, as other ladies, the daughters of Chieftains, already were; and to this Montezuma consented.

The Great Montezuma always showed his accustomed good will to us, but from one day to the other he never ceased his sacrifices at which human beings were killed, and Cortés tried to dissuade him from this but met with no success. So Cortés took counsel with his captains as to what should be done in the matter, for he did not dare to put an end to it for fear of a rising in the City and of the

priests who were in charge of Huichilobos. The advice that the captains and soldiers gave about this was, that he should pretend that he wished to go and throw down the Idols from the lofty temples of Huichilobos, and that if we saw that they intended to defend them, and were going to rise in revolt, that we should then demand permission to set up an altar inside the Great Cue, and place a Crucifix there and an image of Our Lady. When this was settled Cortés went to the Palace where Montezuma was imprisoned and took seven captains and soldiers with him, and said to Montezuma: "Señor, I have often asked you not to sacrifice any more human beings to your gods who are deceiving you, and you will not cease doing it, I wish you to know that all my companions and these captains who are with me have come to beg you to give them leave to remove the gods from your temple and put our Lady Santa Maria and a Cross in their place, and, if you will not give them leave now, they will go and remove them, and I would not like them to kill any priests."

When Montezuma heard those words and saw that the Captains were rather angry, he said, "Oh! Malinche, how can you wish to destroy the city entirely! for our gods are very angry with us, and I do not know that they will stop even at your lives, what I pray you to do for the present is to be patient, and I will send to summon all the priests and I will see their reply." When Cortés heard this he made a sign that he wished to speak quite privately to Montezuma without the presence of the captains whom he had brought in his company, so he ordered them to go out and leave him alone. When they had left the hall he said to Montezuma, that in order to prevent this affair from becoming known and causing a disturbance and becoming an offence to the priests on account of their Idols being overturned, that he would arrange with these Captains to the effect that they should do nothing of the sort, provided

they were given an apartment in the Great Cue where they might make an altar on which to place the Image of Our Lady and set up a Cross, and that as time went on it would be made plain how good and advantageous it was for their souls, and for giving them health and good harvests and prosperity. Then Montezuma, with sighs and a very sorrowful countenance, said that he would confer with his priests. After much discussion had taken place about it, on the [1] day of the month of [1] in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, this was done and our altars and an image of Our Lady and a Cross were set up, apart from their curséd Idols, with great reverence and with thanks to God from all of us, and the Padre de la Merced chanted Mass, assisted by the priest Juan Díaz and many of our soldiers. Our captain ordered an old soldier to be stationed there as guardian, and begged Montezuma to order the priests not to touch the altar, but only to keep it swept and to burn incense and keep wax candles burning there by day and night, and to decorate it with branches and flowers.

I will leave off here and say what it led to.

CHAPTER CVIII.

How the great Montezuma told our Captain Cortés to leave Mexico with all his soldiers, for all the Caciques and priests wanted to rise and wage war on us until they killed us, for so it had been decreed and advised by their Idols, and what Cortés did about it.

THERE was never a time when we were not subject to surprises of such a kind, that had our Lord God not assisted us, they would have cost us our lives. Thus as

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[1] Blank spaces in the original.

soon as we had placed the image of Our Lady and the Cross on the Altar which we had made on the Great Cue and the Holy Gospel had been preached and Mass said, it seems that Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca spoke to the priests, and told them that they wished to leave their country as they were so badly treated by the Teules, and they did not wish to stay where those figures and the Cross had been placed, nor would they remain there unless we were killed, and this was their answer and they need not expect any other, and they should inform Montezuma and all his Captains, so that they might at once go to war and kill us. The Idols further told them that they could see how all the gold that used to be kept for their honour, had been broken up by us and made into ingots, and let them beware how we were making ourselves lords over the country, and were holding five great Caciques prisoners, and they told them of other misdeeds so as to induce them to attack us. In order that Cortés and all of us should know about this, the Great Montezuma sent word to tell Cortés that he wished to speak to him on very important matters, and the page Orteguilla came and said to him that Montezuma was very sad and much disturbed, and that during the previous night and part of the day many priests and leading Captains had been with him and had said things to him privately that he [the page] could not understand.

When Cortés heard this he went in haste to the palace where Montezuma was staying and took with him Cristóval de Olid, who was Captain of the Guard, and four other Captains and Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, and, after they had paid much respect to him, Montezuma said: "Oh! Señor Malinche and Captains, how distressed I am at the reply and command which our Teules have given to our priests and to me and all my Captains, which is that we should make war on you and

kill you, and drive you back across the sea. I have thought it over, and what seems to me best is that you should at once leave this city before you are attacked, and that not one of you should remain here. This, Señor Malinche, I say that you should not fail to do, for it is to your interest, if not you will be killed, remember it is a question of your lives." Cortés and our Captains felt grief at what he said and were even a good deal disquieted, and it was not to be wondered at, the affair coming so suddenly and with such insistence that our lives were at once placed in the greatest danger by it, for the warning was given us with the greatest urgency. Cortés replied that he thanked Montezuma sincerely for the warning, and that at the present time there were two things that troubled him, one was that he had no vessels in which to sail, for he had ordered those in which he had come to be broken up, and the other was that Montezuma would be forced to come with us so that our Great Emperor might see him, and that he begged as a favour that he would place restraint on his priests and captains while three ships were being built at the sand dunes, as it would be more advantageous to them, for if they began the war they would all of them be killed.

He also asked, so that Montezuma might see that he wished to carry out what he had said without delay, that carpenters might be sent with two of our soldiers who were great experts in shipbuilding, to cut wood near to the sand dunes.

Montezuma was even more sorrowful than before because Cortés told him that he would have to come with us before the Emperor ; he said that he would send the carpenters, and that they should hurry and not waste time in talk, but work, and that meanwhile he would command the priests and captains not to ferment disturbances in the city and he would order Huichilobos to

be appeased with sacrifices, but not of human lives. After this exciting conversation Cortés and his captains took leave of Montezuma, and we were all in the greatest anxiety wondering when they would begin the attack.

Then Cortés ordered Martin López, the ship carpenter, to be summoned and Andrés Nuñez, and the Indian carpenters whom the Great Montezuma had given him and after some discussion as to the size of the three vessels to be built he ordered him at once to set about the work and to get them ready, for in Villa Rica there was everything necessary in the way of iron and blacksmiths, tackle, tow, and calkers and pitch. So they set out and cut the wood on the coast near Villa Rica, and in haste began to build the ships.

What were the instructions given by Cortés to Martin López I do not know, and I say this because the historian Gomara in his history says that he ordered him to make a show, as though it were all a farce of building them, merely so that Montezuma should hear of it. I will defer to what those say who, thank God, are still alive to this day; moreover, Martin Lopez told me in secret that he really worked at them with all speed and left three ships in the dockyard.

Let us leave him building the ships and say how we all went about in that city very much depressed, fearing that at any moment they might attack us; and our friends from Tlaxcala and Doña Marina also told the captain that an attack was probable, and Orteguilla, Montezuma's page, was always in tears. We all kept on the alert and placed a strong Guard over Montezuma, I say that we were on the alert, but there is no necessity to repeat it so often, for neither by day or night did we ever take off our arms or our gorgets or leggings, and we slept in them. May be some will ask when we slept and what our beds were like,—they were nothing but a little straw and a mat, and

if one had a curtain, he placed it beneath him, and we slept shod and armed and with all our weapons to hand. The horses stood saddled and bridled all day long, and everything so fully prepared that on a call to arms we stood as though we had already been posted and were waiting for it. Sentinels were posted every night, and there was not a soldier who did not keep watch. There is another thing I must say, but not with the intention of boasting about it, that I grew so accustomed to go about armed, and to sleep in the way I have said, that after the conquest of New Spain I kept to the habit of sleeping in my clothes and without a bed, and I slept thus better than on a mattress.

Now when I go to the towns of my *encomienda* I do not take a bed, and if sometimes I do take one with me, it is not that I want it, but because some gentlemen may happen to go with me, and I do not wish them to think that I have not brought a bed because I do not possess a good one, but in truth I always lie on it dressed. There is another thing I must say. I am only able to sleep for a short time of a night, and have to get up and look at the heavens and the stars, and have to walk about for a time in the dew, and this I do without putting a cap or handkerchief on my head, and I am so used to it that thank God it does me no harm. I have said all this that it may be known how we the true conquistadores lived, and how accustomed we became to our arms and to keeping watch.

Let us stop speaking of this, for I am wandering from my story, and say how our Lord Jesus Christ always showed us many favours and how, in the Island of Cuba, Diego Velásquez was hastening on his armada as I shall go on to relate, and how at this very time a Captain named Pánfilo de Narvaez was setting out for New Spain.

BOOK VII.

THE EXPEDITION UNDER PÁNFILO DE NARVAEZ.

CHAPTER CIX.

How Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba hastened to send his Armada against us with Pánfilo de Narvaez as Captain General, and how there came in his company the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and what was done about it.

WE must now go a little way back in our story so that what I am about to relate may be clearly understood. I have already said, in the chapter that treats of that subject, how Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, knew that we had sent our Proctors to His Majesty, with all the gold that we had obtained, and the sun and moon and a great variety of jewels and gold in grains brought from the mines, and many other things of great value, and that we were not asking assistance of him [Velásquez] about anything. He also knew that Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for so he was called), who at that time was President of the Indies, had everything absolutely under his authority, because His Majesty was in Flanders, and that the Bishop had treated our Proctors very badly.

They say that this same Bishop sent from Castile at that time much help to Diego Velásquez, and advice and orders that he should send and have us captured, and that he, from Spain, would afford him full support for so doing. With this strong support Diego Velásquez got together a fleet of nineteen ships and fourteen hundred soldiers, and they brought with them over twenty cannon and much powder and all sorts of stores of stones and balls, and two gunners[1] (the Captain of the artillery was named Rodrigo Martin) and they brought eighty horsemen and ninety crossbowmen and seventy musketeers. Diego Velásquez, although he was very fat and heavy, himself went about from village to village, and from town to town, provisioning the fleet and inviting the settlers who had Indians, as well as his relations and friends, to go with Pánfilo Narvaez to capture Cortés and us his Captains and soldiers, or at least not to leave any of us alive, and he went about so incensed and angry and with such energy, that he got as far as Guaniguanico which is seventy leagues beyond Havana. When he was going about like this before his armada sailed, it seems that the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite friars, who were the Governors, got to hear of it, for the Licentiate Zuazo sent them the news of it from Cuba, to which island he had come to take the "residencia"[2] of this same Diego Velásquez. When the Royal Audiencia heard of it—knowing as they did of the many and great and loyal services which we had accomplished for God and His Majesty, and how we had sent our Proctors with great presents to our Lord the King, and knowing that Diego Velásquez had no right nor authority to take vengeance on us by force of arms, but that he should ask for it according to law, and that if

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[1] Astilleros in the text, probably in error for Artilleros.

[2] Residencia = an inquiry into official acts.

he came with his fleet it would greatly interfere with our conquest,—they decided to send a Licentiate named Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, who was Oidor of this same Royal Audiencia, to stop this fleet of Diego Velásquez and not to let it sail, under pain of heavy penalties. The Oidor came to Cuba and took the needful steps and made protest according to the command of the Royal Audiencia in order that Velásquez should not carry out his project, but all the injunctions and penalties that he proclaimed were of no avail, for as Diego Velásquez had the backing of the Bishop of Burgos, and had spent all he possessed in raising that army against us, he did not care a snap of the fingers for all the injunctions issued against him, on the contrary he became very blustering, and when the Oidor saw this he himself acccompanied Narvaez so as to keep the peace and to promote agreement between Cortés and Narvaez. There are other soldiers who say that he came with the intention of giving us assistance, and, if he could not do so, that he meant to take the country himself as Oidor in the name of His Majesty. In this way he came to the port of San Juan de Ulúa, and there I will leave him and go on to say what was done about it.

CHAPTER CX.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez arrived at the port of San Juan de Ulúa, which is called Vera Cruz, with all his fleet, and what happened to him.

As Pánfilo de Narvaez came across the sea with all his fleet of nineteen ships, it appears that on nearing the Sierra of San Martin, for so it is called, he was struck by a north wind, which is a head wind on that coast, and during the night he lost one ship of small burden which foundered; her Captain was a gentleman named Cristóbal de

Morante, a native of Medina del Campo, and a number of other persons were drowned. All the rest of the fleet arrived at San Juan de Ulúa.

When the arrival of this great fleet was known, (for it must be called great as having been equipped in the Island of Cuba,) it came to the ears of those soldiers whom Cortés had sent to look for mines, and these three men, namely Cervantes the jester, and Escalona, and the third called Alonzo Hernández Carretero, came to the ships of Narvaez. When they found themselves safe on board ship and in Narvaez' Company, it is said that they raised their hands to God who had delivered them from the power of Cortés and got them out of the great City of Mexico where every day they expected to be killed. When they had eaten with Narvaez and drunk wine, and were satiated with too much drink, they kept saying to one another before the General himself, "See here, is it not better to be here drinking wine than to be unhappy in the power of Cortés who made such slaves of us night and day that we hardly dared to speak, expecting from day to day to meet death staring us in the face." And Cervantes, who was a buffoon, even said by way of pleasantry, "Oh, Narvaez, Narvaez, how fortunate you are to have come at this time, for this traitor of a Cortés has got together more than seven hundred thousand dollars of gold, and all the soldiers are very discontented with him because he has taken a great part of their share of the gold, and they do not want to accept what he is giving them." So those soldiers who had deserted from us as they were mean and worthless, told Narvaez much more that he wanted to know. They also informed him that eight leagues distant from where he was, a town had been founded named Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and that Gonzalo de Sandoval was in command of it with seventy soldiers, all of them old and invalid, and that if he should send some fighting men there at once,

they would surrender to him, and they told him many other things.

Let us leave all these discussions and relate how the great Montezuma soon got to know that there were ships anchored in the port with many captains and soldiers on board, and he secretly sent some of his chiefs, without Cortés knowing anything about it, and ordered them [the Spaniards in the ships] to be given food, gold and cloth, and the neighbouring villages were told to furnish them with supplies of food. Narvaez sent to tell Montezuma many abusive and many uncivil things about Cortés and all of us, [such as] that we were bad men and thieves who had fled from Castile without the permission of our Lord and King, and that when our Lord the King had heard that we were in this country, and knew about the evil deeds and robberies we had committed and that we had taken Montezuma prisoner, he had ordered Narvaez to set out at once with all these ships and soldiers and horses, to put an end to such evils and to free him [Montezuma] from his prison, and either to kill Cortés and all of us evil-doers, or to capture us and send us back to Spain in these same ships, and that when we arrived there we should be condemned to death ; and he sent to tell him much more nonsense. The interpreters who explained all this to the Indians were the three soldiers who already understood the language. In addition to these messages, Narvaez also sent some gifts of things from Spain.

When Montezuma heard all this he was very well satisfied with the news, for as they said that there were so many ships and horses and cannon and musketeers and crossbowmen, and that there were thirteen hundred or more soldiers, he believed that they would take us prisoners. In addition to this when his chieftains saw our three soldiers with Narvaez and perceived that they said much evil of Cortés, they accepted as the truth all

that Narvaez had told them to say. They brought with them a picture of the fleet painted quite correctly on some cloths. Then Montezuma sent Narvaez much more gold and cloths and ordered all the towns in his neighbourhood to take them plenty to eat, and for three days Montezuma was in possession of this news and Cortés knew nothing at all.

One day when our Captain went to see Montezuma and to pay him court, after the usual civilities had passed between them, it seemed to Captain Cortés that Montezuma was looking very cheerful and happy, and he asked him how he felt, and Montezuma replied that he was better. When Montezuma saw that he came to visit him twice in one day, he was afraid that Cortés knew about the ships, and so as to get ahead of him and to avoid suspicion, he said to him, "Señor Malinche, only just now messengers have come to tell me that at the port where you landed there have arrived eighteen more ships and many people and horses, and they have brought it all to me painted on some cloths, and as you came twice to visit me to-day I thought that you must have come to bring me this news; now you will have no need to build ships. Because you did not tell me about it, on the one hand I was annoyed with you for keeping me in ignorance, and on the other hand I was delighted at the arrival of your brothers, for now you can all return to Spain and there need be no further excuse."

When Cortés heard about the ships, and saw the picture on the cloth, he rejoiced greatly and said, "Thank God! who at the right moment provides for us," and we soldiers were so delighted that we could not keep quiet, and the horsemen rode skirmishing round about and we fired off shots. But Cortés was very thoughtful, for he well understood that that fleet was sent by Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba against him and against all of us, and,

wise man as he was, he said what he felt about it to all of us captains and soldiers, and by great gifts of gold to us, and promises to make us rich, he induced us all to stand by him. He did not know who had come in command (of the fleet) but we were greatly rejoiced at the news, and at the gold that Cortés had given us by the way of gratuity, as if he had taken it from his own property and not from that which should have been our share. It was indeed great help and assistance that Our Lord Jesus Christ was sending to us. I will stop here and say what took place in the camp of Narvaez.

CHAPTER CXI.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez sent five persons from his fleet to demand of Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was in command at Villa Rica, that he should surrender himself and all the settlers, and what happened about it.

As those three scoundrelly soldiers of ours, already mentioned, had gone over to Narvaez, and had given him news of all the things that Cortés and all of us had done since we entered New Spain, and had told him that Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval was about eight leagues distant at a town which had been founded and called the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and that he had with him seventy settlers, nearly all of them old or invalids, Narvaez determined to send to the town a priest named Guevara, who had good address, and another man of considerable importance named Amaya, a relation of Diego Velásquez of Cuba, and a notary named Vergara, and three witnesses whose names I do not remember. He sent them to give notice to Sandoval to surrender at once to Narvaez, and for this purpose they said that they brought copies of the decrees. It is said that Gonzalo de Sandoval had already

received news from some Indians about the ships and the great number of persons that had come in them, and as he was very much of a man, he always had everything in readiness and his soldiers armed, and as he suspected that that fleet came from Diego Velásquez, and that some of the crew would be sent to that town to take possession of it, and so as not to be hampered by his old and invalid soldiers, he sent them off at once to an Indian town named Papalote, and kept with himself the healthy ones.

Sandoval always set a good watch on the roads to Cempoala, which is the road by which the town is approached, and he called his soldiers together and impressed on them that if Diego Velásquez or any one else should come, they must not surrender the town to him, and all the soldiers answered that they would do as he wished; he furthermore ordered a gallows to be set up on a hill. The spies whom he had posted on the road hurried in to give him notice that six Spaniards and some Cuban Indians were approaching the town, and Sandoval awaited them in his house, for he would not go out to receive them, and he had already ordered that none of his soldiers should leave their houses or speak to them. When the priest and those whom he had brought in his company met with no Spanish settlers to speak to but only Indians who were working at the fort and did not understand them, they entered the town, and went to the church to say their prayers, and then went to the house of Sandoval as it seemed to them to be the largest in the place. After giving Sandoval a friendly salutation to which he replied, they say that the priest commenced a speech saying that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, had spent much money on the fleet, and that Cortés and all the others whom he had brought in his company had been traitors to him, and that they had come to give notice that they must go at once and give their obedience to Señor Pánfilo de Narvaez

who came as Captain General on behalf of Diego Velásquez. When Sandoval heard these words and the rudeness with which the Padre Guevara spoke, he was biting his lips with annoyance at what he heard, and said: "Señor Padre, you are speaking very maliciously, in using these words about traitors,—we are here all better servants of His Majesty than Diego Velásquez,—but that you are a priest I would chastise you as you deserve for your bad manners. Be off with you and go to Mexico, where you will find Cortés who is Captain General and Chief Justice of this New Spain, and he will give you your answer, here you need say no more."

Then the priest in a blustering way told the notary named Vergara whom he had brought with him, to take out at once the decrees that he carried in his bosom and to notify Sandoval and the settlers who were with him, but Sandoval told the notary that he should not read a single paper, that he did not care whether they were decrees or any other documents. While they were disputing, the notary began to take out from his bosom the documents he had brought, and Sandoval said to him, "Look here, Vergara, I have already told you not to read any papers here, but to go to Mexico, and I promise you that if you do read them I will have you given a hundred lashes, for we do not know whether you are a king's notary or not; show us your title, and if you have got that, read it; nor do we know if these decrees are the originals or copies or other documents." The priest who was a very haughty man, exclaimed, "How are you dealing with these traitors? Bring out the decrees and notify them," and he said this with much anger. When Sandoval heard that expression he told him that he lied like a vile priest, and at once ordered his soldiers to take them all prisoners to Mexico. He had hardly uttered the words when a number of the Indians who were at work at the fort, snatched them

up in net hammocks like sinful souls, and carried them off on their backs, and in four days arrived with them close to Mexico, for they travelled day and night with relays of Indians. They were indeed frightened when they saw so many cities and large towns, and food was brought to them, and one party dropped them and another carried them on their way, and it is said that they were wondering whether it was all witchcraft or a dream. Sandoval sent an alguacil with them as far as Mexico named Pedro de Solis, the son-in-law of Orduña, whom they now call Solis-behind-the-door.

When he sent these men as prisoners, Sandoval wrote in haste to Cortés to tell him who was Captain of the fleet, and all that had happened. As soon as Cortés knew that they were coming as prisoners and were close to Mexico, he sent out horses for the three principal persons and ordered them at once to be released from their confinement and wrote to them that he regretted that Sandoval should have treated them so disrespectfully, as he would have wished him to do them much honour, and when they arrived at Mexico he went out to meet them, and brought them very honourably into the city. When the priest and his companions saw how great a city was Mexico, and the wealth of gold that we possessed, and the many other cities in the waters of the lake, and all us captains and soldiers, and the frank open-heartedness of Cortés, they were amazed, and by the end of the two days they stayed with us, Cortés had talked to them in such a way with promises and flattery and even by greasing their palms with little ingots and jewels of gold, that when he sent them back to their Narvaez with food for the road, although they had set out as fierce as lions, they returned thoroughly tamed, and offered themselves to him [Cortés] as his servants. So when they returned to Cempoala to report to their Captain, they began to persuade all the camp of Nar-

vaez to come over to our side. I will leave off here and relate how Cortés wrote to Narvaez and what came of it.

CHAPTER CXII.

How Cortés, after he had been fully informed who was in command, and who and how many had come in the Fleet, and what munitions of war they had brought, and about our three false soldiers who had gone over to Narvaez, wrote to the Captain and to his other friends, especially to Andrés de Duero, the Secretary of Diego Velásquez. He also learnt how Montezuma had sent gold and cloth to Narvaez, and what reply Narvaez had sent back to Montezuma, and how the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santa Domingo, had come with the Fleet, and the instructions that he brought.

As Cortés always exercised great care and forethought and no matter escaped him that he did not try and put right, and as I have often said before, he had trustworthy and good captains and soldiers, who, besides being very valiant, gave him good advice,—it was agreed to by all of us that he should at once write and send the letters by Indians post haste to Narvaez, before the priest Guevara could arrive, and should tell Narvaez with friendly expressions and promises which we one and all made him, that we would do what his honour should command, but that we begged him as a favour not to create a disturbance in the land, or to allow the Indians to see any division among us. This promise was made because we who formed the party of Cortés were only a few soldiers in comparison with those whom Narvaez had brought, and in order to gain his good will, and to see how he would act. So we offered ourselves as his servants, while at the same time, beneath all these good words, we did not neglect any chances to look for friends among the Captains of Narvaez, for the Padre Guevara and the Notary Vergara had told

Cortés that Narvaez was not much liked by his captains, and advised us to send them some slabs and chains of gold, for "gifts break rocks." Cortés wrote to them that he and all his companions were rejoiced at their arrival at the port, and, as they were old friends, he begged Narvaez to do nothing towards the release of Montezuma who was a prisoner, or to cause a rising in the city, for it would involve the destruction of himself and his men as well as all our lives on account of the great power that Montezuma wielded; that he stated this because Montezuma was very much excited and all the city was in revolt on account of the messages that had been sent to him. That he (Cortés) thought and felt certain that things expressed in such a way and at such a time could never have come from the mouth of such a wise and valiant man as Narvaez, but were such things as Cervantes the jester and the soldiers he had with him might say. Beside other words that were written in this letter, he placed his person and his property at the disposal of Narvaez, and said that he would do whatever Narvaez might command.

Cortés also wrote to the Secretary, Andrés de Duero, and to the Oidor, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and with the letters he sent certain jewels of gold to his friends. As soon as he had sent the letter, he secretly ordered the Oidor to be given ingots and chains of gold, and begged the Padre de la Merced to follow the letters to the camp of Narvaez without delay, and he gave him more golden chains and ingots and some very valuable jewels to give to his friends there. So the first letter which Cortés wrote and sent by the Indians arrived before the Padre Guevara, who was the priest whom Narvaez had sent to us [to Villa Rica], and Narvaez went about showing it to his Captains and jeering at it and even at us. It is said that one of the Captains whom Narvaez had brought with him, named Salvatierra, who had come as Veedor, raised a clamour

when he heard it, reproving Narvaez for reading such a letter from a traitor like Cortés, and saying that he ought to proceed against us at once, and not leave one of us alive, and he swore that he would roast Cortés' ears and eat one of them, and other such ribaldry. So Narvaez would not answer the letter, nor consider us worth a snap of the fingers.

Just at that time the priest Guevara and his companions arrived [in camp], and told Narvaez that Cortés was a very excellent gentleman and a faithful servant of the King, and he told him of the great power of Mexico and of the many cities he had seen on the way, and that they understood that Cortés wished to serve him and do all that he ordered, and it would be a good thing, if, peaceably and without disturbance, an agreement should be come to between them; [he added] that Señor Narvaez should consider that all New Spain lay before him and he could take the people he had brought with him wherever he chose, and leave the other provinces to Cortés, for there were territories and to spare where one might settle. When Narvaez heard this, they say that he was so angry with Padre Guevara and Amaya that he would not see or listen to them again. When the people in the camp saw the Padre Guevara and the Notary Vergara and the others so greatly enriched, and the followers of Narvaez heard from them secretly so much good of Cortés and of all of us, and how they had seen such quantities of gold staked at play in our camp, many of them wished that they were already there. Just about this time our Padre de la Merced arrived at Narvaez's camp, with the ingots of gold which Cortés had given him and the private letters, and he went to kiss hands to Narvaez, and to tell him how Cortés wished for peace and friendship and was ready to obey his orders. But Narvaez who was very obstinate, and felt very aggressive, would not listen to him, and chose to say

before the Padre himself that Cortés and all of us were traitors, and because the Friar replied that on the contrary we were very loyal subjects of the King, Narvaez used abusive language to him.

Then the Friar very secretly distributed the ingots and chains of gold to those whom Cortés had named, and he got together and won over the chief persons in Narvaez's camp.

I will leave off here, and relate what took place between Narvaez and the Oidor, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and what happened about it.

CHAPTER CXIII.

How the Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez had words with the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and how Narvaez ordered him to be seized and sent as a prisoner to Cuba or Spain, and what happened about it.

It appears that the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon came to favour the cause of Cortés and all of us, according to his instruction from the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, for the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, were aware of the many good and loyal services which we had done, first of all to God, and then to our Lord the King, and of the great present that we had sent to Spain with our Proctors. In addition to what the Royal Audiencia had ordered him to do in his official capacity, the Oidor had [now] seen the letters from Cortés, and with them the blocks of gold; and whereas he had said previously that the despatch of the fleet was contrary to all right and justice, and that it was an evil thing to proceed against such good subjects of the King as we were, from this time forward he spoke so much more clearly and openly, and said so much good of Cortés and of all of those who were with him, that in the camp of Narvaez nothing else was talked about.

In addition to this it was seen and understood, that in Narvaez there was nothing but the utmost stinginess, for he took for himself all the gold and cloths which Montezuma had sent them and did not give a scrap of it either to a captain or a soldier, on the contrary he said very loudly to his steward, with a haughty voice, "See to it that not a mantle be missing, for they have all been noted down."

As they knew him to be so mean, and heard what I have already said about Cortés, and how we who were with him were very generous, his entire camp was more than half mutinous. Narvaez thought that the Oidor was at the bottom of it, and was sowing discord. Beside this, when Montezuma sent them food which the caterer or steward of Narvaez distributed, he did it without paying the attention to the Oidor or his servants that he should have done, and there was some irritation and uproar about it in the camp. Then owing to the advice given him by Salvatierra, who, as I have said, came as Veedor, and of a certain Juan Bono de Cuexo, a Biscayan, and above all [trusting in] the great support that he had received from Castille, from Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, Narvaez had the daring to seize the King's Oidor and some of his servants and his clerk, and put them on board ship and send them as prisoners to Spain, or to the Island of Cuba. Also, because a gentleman, named something de Oblanca, a learned man, said that Cortés was a very good servant of the King, and all of us who were with him were worthy of much favour, and it seemed to him wrong to call us traitors, and that it was an evil deed to seize an Oidor of His Majesty, for all this that he said, Narvaez ordered him to be imprisoned. As Gonzalo de Oblanca was a very high-bred nobleman, he fretted himself to death within four days. Narvaez also made prisoners of two other soldiers whom he had brought in his ship who knew and spoke well of Cortés, one of

them was Sancho Barahona who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala.

I will go on to relate about the Oidor whom they were carrying as a prisoner to Castille; he spoke kindly to the Captain and pilot and master who had charge of him on board the ship, but at the same time he frightened them by saying that when they arrived in Spain, that instead of paying them for what they had done, His Majesty would order them to be hanged. When they heard these words they told him that if he would pay them for their trouble they would take him to Santo Domingo, and so they changed their course from what Narvaez had ordered and arrived and disembarked at the Island of Santo Domingo. When the Royal Audiencia, which was stationed there, and the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, heard the story of the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and took into consideration the great disrespect and effrontery [that had been shown] they felt it deeply, and were so much annoyed that they at once wrote to Castile to His Majesty's Royal Council. And as at that time the Bishop of Burgos was President of the Council and managed everything, and His Majesty had not returned from Flanders, no justice was done in our favour, on the contrary they say that Don Rodríguez de Fonseca was greatly rejoiced thinking that Narvaez had already defeated us. When His Majesty who was in Flanders heard our Proctors, and knew what Diego Velásquez and Narvaez had done in sending a fleet without the Royal licence, and imprisoning an Oidor, it did them a great deal of damage in the law suits and claims which, after Cortés had been accused, they preferred against him and all of us, notwithstanding all that they said about having a licence from the Bishop of Burgos who was President of the Council to equip the fleet they sent against us, as I will relate further on.

Then as certain soldiers, friends and relations of the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, saw that Narvaez had committed that great disrespect and irregularity against an Oidor of His Majesty and had carried him off as a prisoner; and as they were already in fear of Narvaez who had his eye on them and was on bad terms with them, they agreed to flee from the sand dunes to the town where Captain Sandoval was stationed. He [Sandoval] treated them with much honour, and learnt from them all that I have here related, and how Narvaez wished to send soldiers to that town to capture it. And what else happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CXIV.

How Narvaez, after he had made prisoners of the Oidor Lucas Vásquez Ayllon and his clerk, went with all his forces to a town named Cempoala which at that time was a large town, and what he effected there, and what our Captain Cortés did and all of us who were in Mexico, and how we decided to march against Narvaez.

As soon as Narvaez had sent away the Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Dómingo as a prisoner, he at once proceeded with all his baggage and supplies and munitions of war to form a camp in the town of Cempoala which at that time had a large population, and the first thing that he did was to take by force from the fat Cacique, for so we called him, all the mantles and cloths and gold which Cortés had given into his charge before we left for Tlaxcala, and he also took the Indian women whom the Caciques of that town had given us, who had been left in the houses of their parents because they were daughters of chieftains, and too delicate to go to the war. When he did this the fat Cacique said many times to Narvaez that he must not

touch any of the things that Cortés had left in his charge for if Cortés knew that anything had been taken he would kill him for it. He also complained to Narvaez himself of the many evil deeds and robberies that his people committed in the town, and told him that when Malinche was there, (for so they called Cortés,) with his people, they had not taken a single thing from them, and that he was very good and just, both he himself and the Teules whom he brought with him, and that Narvaez should at once give him back his Indian women, and gold and mantles, for if he did not, he would send and complain to Malinche. When they heard that, they made fun of what he said, and the Veedor, Salvatierra, who has been mentioned by me before, who was the one who boasted most, said to his friends and to Narvaez himself, "Don't you hear what a fright all these Caciques are in of this nonentity of a Cortés." Now just see what it is worth to speak evil of what is good, for I am telling the truth when I say that when we made the attack on Narvaez, this Salvatierra turned out to be one of the biggest cowards of them all, (not that he did not possess a robust body and strength,) but the defect did not apply to his tongue. They say that he was a native of a town near Burgos.

Let us stop talking about him, and say how Narvaez sent to notify some decrees to our Captain and all of us which were said to be copies of the originals which he had brought from the Governor, Diego Velásquez, appointing him Captain, and he sent them by a notary, named somebody de Mata, in order that he should formally state them to us, and this notary was afterwards a crossbowman and as time went on he became a settler at Puebla. Narvaez sent with him four soldiers, all persons of quality, to act as witnesses. Let us leave them there, both Narvaez and the notary whom he was sending, and let us return to Cortés who received every day letters and warnings both

from the camp of Narvaez and from that of Gonzalo de Sandoval who remained at Villa Rica, and who told Cortés that he had there with him five soldiers, persons of considerable importance, who were friends and relations of the licentiate, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, whom Narvaez had sent away as a prisoner. These soldiers came to him from the camp of Narvaez, and gave as a reason for their coming, that as Narvaez had no respect for the Oidor of the King, he would have still less respect for them who were his relations. From these soldiers Sandoval heard in full all that was taking place in the camp of Narvaez, who had stated that he was going in search of us to Mexico to take us prisoners.

Let us go on and say that Cortés promptly took counsel with our Captains, and all of us whom he knew to be his faithful followers, and whom he was accustomed to call in council in such important affairs as this. And it was decided by us all, that at once, without waiting for any more letters or other information, we should fall upon Narvaez, and that Pedro de Alvarado should remain in Mexico to take charge of Montezuma with all the soldiers who were not inclined to go on that expedition, so that all those persons whom we suspected of being friends of Diego Velásquez could be left behind.

About that time, before the arrival of Narvaez, Cortés had sent to Tlaxcala for a large supply of maize, for there had been a bad seed time in the Mexican territory from want of rain, and we were in want of maize, for as we had with us many of our Tlaxcalan friends, there was great need of it. So they brought the maize and fowls and other food and we left it with Pedro de Alvarado, and we even made some barricades and fortifications for him and mounted some bronze cannon, and we left with him all the powder we possessed and fourteen musketeers, eight cross-bowmen and five horses, and we left with him in all eighty soldiers.

Montezuma saw that we meant to go against Narvaez, and although Cortés went to see him every day and paid him court, he never let Montezuma know that he was aware that he was assisting Narvaez and was sending him gold and cloth, and had ordered him to be supplied with food. In the course of conversation Montezuma asked Cortés where he was going, and why he had prepared those armaments and defences, and why we were all in such a state of excitement? How Cortés answered him and what turn the conversation took, I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXV.

How the great Montezuma asked Cortés why he wished to go against Narvaez, seeing that Narvaez had brought many men with him and that Cortés had but a few, and that he should regret it if any evil happened to us.

WHEN as usual Cortés and the great Montezuma were conversing, Montezuma said to Cortés, "Señor Malinche, I notice that all your captains and soldiers are agitated, and I have also observed that you only come to see me now and then, and Orteguilla the page tells me that you intend to go against those, your brothers, who have come in the ships, and to leave Tonatío here to guard me; do me the favour to tell me if there is anything I can do to assist you, for I will do it with the greatest good will. Moreover, Señor Malinche, I do not wish any calamity to befall you, for you have very few Teules with you, and those who have now come are five times as numerous, and they say that they are Christians like yourselves, and vassals and subjects of your Emperor, and they possess images and set up crosses and say Mass and say and announce that you are persons who have fled from your King, and that they have come to capture and kill you. I

do not understand it at all, so take care what you are doing."

Cortés answered with a pretence of lightheartedness, and said through Doña Marina, who was always with him during all these conversations, as well as Gerónimo de Aguilar, as interpreters, that they should inform him that if he had not come to tell him all about it, it was because he loved him very much and did not wish to grieve him by our departure, and this was why he had postponed telling him, for he felt certain that Montezuma was well disposed towards him. That regarding what he said as to all of us being vassals of our great Emperor, it was true, also that they were Christians as we were, but as to what they said about our fleeing from our Lord the King, that it was not so, for our King had sent us to see him and tell him all that had been said and done in his royal name. As for what he said about their bringing many soldiers and ninety horses and many cannon and powder, and our being few in number, and that they had come to kill us and take us prisoners, that Our Lord Jesus Christ in whom we believe, and our Lady Santa Maria, his blessed Mother, would give more strength to us than to them, for they were bad people and had come with a bad purpose. As our Emperor ruled over many kingdoms and principalities, there were great differences of race among them, some very valiant, and others even much more so. We came from Castile itself, which is called Old Castile, and we called ourselves Castilians, and the Captain who was now at Cempoala and the people he had brought with him came from another province, named Biscaya, and called themselves Biscayans, and spoke like the Otomis of this land of Mexico, and he would see how we would bring them as prisoners. He need have no anxiety about our departure, for we would soon return victorious, and what he now begged of him was to stay quietly with

his brother Tonatío, (for so they called Don Pedro de Alvarado,) and eighty soldiers. And, so that there should be no disturbance after we left the city, he must not countenance his captains and priests in doing anything for which, as soon as we returned, the rebellious ones would have to pay with their lives, and he begged him to provide our people with anything they might need in the way of food. Then Cortés embraced Montezuma twice, and Montezuma also embraced Cortés, and Doña Marina, who was very sagacious, said to him artfully that he was pretending sadness at our departure. Then Montezuma offered to do all that Cortés had asked him, and even promised that he would send five thousand warriors to our assistance. Cortés thanked him for it, but he well knew that he would not send them, and said that he needed no more than first of all the help of God, and then that of his companions. Cortés also asked Montezuma to see that the image of Our Lady and the Cross should always be decked with garlands, and that wax candles should always be kept burning there by day and by night, and that he should not allow any of his priests to do otherwise, for that would be a proof of his sincere friendship. After turning to embrace him again, he [Cortés] said that he must pardon him for not staying longer with him, for he had to attend to our departure.

Then Cortés spoke to Alvarado and all the soldiers who were remaining with him, and he charged them to take the greatest care that the great Montezuma did not escape, and to obey Pedro de Alvarado, and he promised with the help of our Lord God, to make them all rich men. The Priest, Juan Díaz, also remained behind with them and did not come with us, as did also other suspected persons. Then we embraced one another and without taking any Indian women or any servants with

us, and marching in light order, we set out on our journey for Cholula.

While on the road Cortés sent to Tlaxcala to beg our friends Xicotenga and Mase Escasi, to send us at once five thousand warriors, and they sent to say in reply that if it were against Indians like themselves they would do so, and even much more, but against Teules like us, and against lombards, and crossbows, they had no wish to fight. However they sent us twenty loads of fowls. Cortés also wrote to Sandoval that he should join us with all his soldiers as quickly as possible and that we were going to some towns about twelve leagues from Cempoala named Tanpaniguita and Mitlanguita, which are now in the encomienda of Pedro Moreno Medrano, who lives in Puebla; that Sandoval should take great care not to be captured by Narvaez, and neither fall into his hands nor into those of any of his soldiers.

We kept on our way in the manner I have described, all on the alert to fight should we fall in with Narvaez or any of his soldiers, with our scouts on the look out, and with two of us soldiers, strong men and very trustworthy, always keeping a day's journey ahead. These men did not keep along the direct road, but by tracks where horses could not travel, so as to inquire and find out from the Indians about the troops of Narvaez.

Then as our scouts were marching on the look out, they saw Alonzo de Mata approaching, who said that he was a Notary, and was coming to serve the papers or copies of the decrees, (which I have already spoken about in the chapter that treats of it,) and four Spaniards who came with him as witnesses. Two of our horsemen at once came to give notice, while the other two scouts entered into conversation with Alonza de Mata and his four witnesses. We hurried up and quickened our steps, and when they came near to us, they made deep bows to Cortés and to all of us, and

Cortés dismounted from his horse, and as he knew why they came and that Alonzo de Mata wished to serve the decrees that he had brought, Cortés asked him if he was a King's Notary, and he replied yes; then he ordered him at once to exhibit his title, and if he had brought it that he should read the messages, and he [Cortés] would do what he should consider would be to the service of God and of His Majesty. That if he had not brought it [his title] he should not read those documents, also that he [Cortés] must see the originals of the documents signed by His Majesty. So Mata, who was somewhat confused and timid, for he was not a King's Notary, and those who had come with him, did not know what to say. Cortés ordered them to be given food, for we were making a halt there, and he told them that we were going to some towns named Tanpaniguita near to the camp of Señor Narvaez, and that there he would be able to proclaim what his Captain might direct. Cortés was so tolerant that he never said a hard word about Narvaez, and he spoke privately with them and took their hands and gave them some gold, and soon afterwards they went back to their Narvaez, speaking well of Cortés and of all of us. As many of our soldiers at that time, out of ostentation, had jewels of gold on their arms and golden chains and collars round their necks, and these men who came to serve the decrees saw them, they told wonderful stories of us in Cempoala, and there were many of the principal people in the camp of Narvaez who wanted to come and make peace, and negotiate with Cortés, because they saw that we were all rich. So we arrived at Tanpaniguita, and the next day Captain Sandoval came with his soldiers numbering about sixty, for he had left behind all the old men and the invalids in a town named Papalote belonging to our Indian allies, so that they could be provided with food. There also came with him the five soldiers who were friends and relations

of the Licentiate, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, who had fled from the camp of Narvaez and came to kiss hands to Cortés, by whom they were all very well and gladly received.

Sandoval related to Cortés all that had happened about the infuriated priest Guevara and Vergara and the rest of them, and how he had sent them prisoners to Mexico, as I have already related in a former chapter. He also told him that he had sent two soldiers disguised as Indians with Indians clothes, to the camp of Narvaez, and Sandoval said that as they were dark-complexioned men they did not look like Spaniards, but like real Indians, and each one carried a load of plums on his back, for this was the plum season (this happened when Narvaez was still at the sand dunes and before they had moved to the town of Cempoala), and they went to the hut of the fierce Salvatierra, who gave them a string of yellow beads for the plums, and when they had sold the plums, Salvatierra, believing them to be Indians, sent them to bring grass for his horse from the banks of a stream that ran near by the ranches. So they went and brought several loads of grass, and, as it was about the hour of Ave Maria when they returned with the grass, they squatted down on their heels like Indians in the hut until night fell, and they kept their eyes and ears open to what some of the soldiers of Narvaez were saying who had come to pay their respects to and keep company with Salvatierra. They reported that Salvatierra said to them, "Ah! at what a lucky moment we have come, for this traitor Cortés has collected more than seven hundred thousand dollars of gold, so we shall all be rich, and his Captains and soldiers whom he has with him can hardly be less rich for they possess much gold!" and they went on with their conversation. When it was quite dark our two soldiers who were disguised like Indians silently crept out of the hut to where Salvatierra kept his horse,

and as the bridle and saddle were close by, they saddled and bridled the animal and jumped on its back and rode off towards the town, and on the way they came upon another horse hobbled near the stream, and they took that also.

Cortés asked Sandoval where these horses were, and he replied that he had left them at the town of Papalote where he had placed the invalids, for the road by which he and his companions had come was impassable by horses, for it was very rough and crossed high mountains, and he had come that way so as not to fall in with any of the soldiers of Narvaez. When Cortés heard of the capture of Salvatierra's horse he was perfectly delighted, and said, "Now he will brag all the more since he finds it missing."

Let us go back to Salvatierra who when he woke up to find that the two Indians who had brought the plums for sale were missing, and could not find his horse or his saddle or his bridle, (we were told this afterwards by many of the soldiers of Narvaez,) said things that raised a laugh at his expense, for he soon found out that they were some of Cortés's Spaniards who had carried off his horse; and from that time on they kept watch.

Let us go back to our story. Cortés and all of us soldiers and Captains were discussing how and in what way we should fall on the camp of Narvaez. What was agreed to before we made the attack, I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXVI.

How Cortés agreed with all of us soldiers that the Fraile de la Merced should be again sent to the camp of Narvaez, for he was very sagacious and a good mediator, and that he should protest himself a good servant of Narvaez, and show himself more in favour of his party than that of Cortés, and that he should secretly summon the artilleryman named Rodrigo Martin and the other artilleryman named Usagre, and that he should speak to Andrés de Duero and get him to come and see Cortés, and he should give into the hands of Narvaez another letter that we had written to him. That he should be ready to take advantage of anything that might happen, and on this account he took with him a large number of ingots and chains of gold for distribution.

AS we had now all got together in that town, we agreed that another letter should be written to Narvaez to be carried by the Padre de la Merced, which, after an expression of respect and the utmost politeness, was more or less to the following effect: That we had rejoiced at his arrival and had believed that with his magnanimous character we should do great service to our Lord God and to his Majesty, but that he had replied to us nothing whatever; on the other hand he had called us who were loyal servants of His Majesty, traitors! and had stirred up trouble throughout the land by the messages he had sent to Montezuma; that Cortés had sent to beg him to choose whatever province he might prefer wherein to settle with his people, or that he should advance, and we would go to other territory and would undertake what it was the duty of faithful servants of His Majesty to accomplish; we had also begged as a favour that if he had brought any decrees from His Majesty that he would send the originals to us, so that we might examine them to see whether they had the royal signature and what orders they contained, so that with our breasts bowing before them on the ground, we might at once obey them. However, he would do neither

one thing nor the other, but merely used abusive language to us and stirred up the country against us; that we begged and entreated him on behalf of our God and of our Lord the King to send within three days and proclaim through His Majesty's Notary the Decrees he had brought, and we would obey, as the orders of our Lord and King, all that he should command in his Royal Decrees; that it was for this reason we had come to this town of Tanpaniguita so as to be nearer to his camp; that if he had not brought the Decrees and wished to return to Cuba, he had better return and not disturb the country any more with threats, for if he made any more trouble, we would come against him and arrest him, and send him a prisoner to our Lord the King, because without the royal permission he had come to make war on us and disturb all the cities, and all the evils and deaths and burnings and losses that might thereon happen would be on his responsibility and not on ours; that he [Cortés] wrote and sent this letter now by hand, for no King's Notary dared to go to Narvaez to proclaim it for fear of being treated with as great disrespect as that with which Narvaez had treated the Oidor of His Majesty; where was there ever seen such audacity as to send him away a prisoner? In addition to what he had already said, he [Cortés] felt bound in duty to the honour and justice of our King to punish that great disrespect and crime, and as Captain General and Chief Justice of New Spain which offices he held, he summoned and cited him on this charge and accused him, as in justice bound, for the crime in which he was involved was that of "laesio Majestatis," and that he called God to witness what he now said. Cortés also sent to tell Narvaez that he must at once return to the fat Cacique the mantles and cloth and jewels of gold which he had taken from him by force, and also the daughters of the chieftains who had been given to us by their parents, and that he must order

his soldiers not to rob the Indians of that town nor of any other. After the usual expressions of courtesy, Cortés placed his signature, as did our Captains and some of the soldiers and I added mine. There accompanied the Friar a soldier named Bartolomé de Usagre, because he was a brother of the artilleryman Usagre who had charge of the artillery of Narvaez.

I will go on to tell what is said to have taken place when our Friar and Usagre arrived at Cempoala where Narvaez was encamped.

CHAPTER CXVII.

How the Fraile de la Merced went to Cempoala where Narvaez and all his captains were stationed and what happened when he gave them the letter.

I WILL not waste further words on repeating how the Fraile de la Merced reached the Camp of Narvaez, for he did what Cortés ordered, which was to call together certain gentlemen followers of Narvaez, and the gunner Rodrigo Martin, for so he was called, and Usagre, who also had charge of the cannon. So as to be sure of attracting Usagre, his brother carried some gold ingots which he secretly gave to him. In the same manner the Friar distributed the gold as Cortés had commanded him, and told Andrés de Duero to come to our camp soon to meet Cortés. In addition to this the Friar went to see Narvaez and speak to him and pretend to be his most humble servant. While this was going on they [the partisans of Narvaez] were very suspicious of what our Friar was about and advised Narvaez to seize him at once, and this he was willing to do. When Andrés de Duero heard of it (he was the Secretary of Diego Velásquez and a native of Tudela de Duero, and

Narvaez and he considered themselves as relations for Narvaez also came from the neighbourhood of Valladolid, or from Valladolid itself) he, Andrés de Duero, who was a person of importance and highly respected throughout the Armada, went to Narvaez and said to him that he had been told that he wished to arrest the Fraile de la Merced who was the messenger and Ambassador from Cortés, and although some suspicions might be entertained that the Friar was saying things in favour of Cortés, it would not be wise to arrest him, for it had been clearly shown what great honours and gifts Cortés bestowed on all the adherents of Narvaez who went to [visit] him; that the Friar had spoken to him [Andrés de Duero] as soon as he had arrived and given him to understand his desire that he himself and other gentlemen from Cortés's camp should come to give him [Narvaez] a reception, and that they should all be friends. Let him observe how good are the words Cortés speaks to the messengers who are sent to him and how neither he [Cortés] nor any of those with him ever mention [him] Narvaez otherwise than as El Señor Capitan, and [moreover] that it would be mean to arrest a cleric. It were better that Usagre the gunner whose brother had come to visit him should invite the Friar to dinner and find out from him what it was that all the followers of Cortés desired. With those and other palatable speeches Andrés de Duero calmed Narvaez, and when this had come to pass he took leave of him and secretly told the priest what had taken place.

Narvaez sent at once to summon the Friar, and when he came he showed him great respect, and the Friar half laughing, for he was very sly and sagacious, begged him to come aside with him in privacy, and Narvaez went strolling with him in a courtyard, and

the Friar said to him "I know well that your Honour wished to have me arrested but I wish you to know, Sir, that you have no better or more devoted servant in the camp than I am, and you may feel sure that many gentlemen and captains among the followers of Cortés would be glad to see him already in your hands, and I think that we shall all see him there; and so as more [surely] to bring about his undoing they have made him write a nonsensical letter which was signed by the soldiers and was given to me to present to your Honour. I have not wished to show it until now, when we can chat together, and I longed to throw it in a river on account of the foolishness that it contains, and the soldiers and Captains of Cortés have done this so as to ensure his undoing." Narvaez said that the letter should be given to him, and the Friar replied that he had left it at his lodging and that he would go for it, and so he took his leave and went for the letter. Meanwhile the blustering Salvatierra came to the quarters of Narvaez.

The Friar quickly called Duero to go at once to the house of Narvaez for the presentation of the letter, for Duero and others among the captains who had shown themselves favourable to Cortés, knew all about it, as the Friar carried it about with him, but he desired that many persons from that camp should be assembled to hear it [read].

When the Friar arrived with the letter he at once gave it to Narvaez himself and said "Do not be astonished at it, Sir, for Cortés talks as though out of his mind, but I know for certain that if your Honour will speak to him with affection he will promptly yield himself up with all his followers."

Let us leave the arguments of the Friar which were very good, and say that the Captains and soldiers told Narvaez

to read the letter. When they heard it, Narvaez and Salvatierra roared with anger, the others laughed as though making fun of it, and then Andrés de Duero said "Now I do not see how this can be, and I do not understand it, for this Cleric has told me that Cortés and all [the rest] would yield to your Honour, and now he writes these ravings." Then one Augustin Bermudez, who was Captain and chief constable of the Camp of Narvaez, ably helped Duero and said, "I certainly learnt from this Friar of the Order of Mercy, in strict privacy, that if we were to send good mediators that Cortés himself would come to visit your Honour in order to give himself up with his soldiers, and it will be a good thing to send to his camp, which is not far off, the Señor Veedor Salvatierra and the Señor Andrés de Duero, and I will go with them," this he said purposely to see what Salvatierra would say. Narvaez at once said that Andrés de Duero and Salvatierra should go, but Salvatierra answered that he was indisposed, and that he would not go to see a traitor. The Friar said to him, "Señor Veedor, it is good to have moderation, for it is certain that you will have him a prisoner before many days."

As soon as the departure of Andrés de Duero was agreed upon, it seems that, in strict secrecy, Narvaez planned with Duero himself and three other Captains, that he should arrange with Cortés for an interview at some farms and Indian houses, which stood between the camp of Narvaez and ours, and that there an arrangement would be come to as to where we should go with Cortés to settle, and where boundaries should be drawn, and that during the interviews he [Narvaez] would arrest him [Cortés] and to this effect Narvaez had already bespoken twenty soldiers who were his friends.

The Friar knew about this at once, and so did Andrés de Duero, and they informed Cortés of everything.

Let us leave the Friar in the camp of Narvaez where he had already made himself a great friend and kinsman of Salvatierra (for both the Fraile de Olmedo and Salvatierra were from Burgos), and he had his meals with him. Let us say about Andrés de Duero that he was getting ready to go to our Camp and take with him our soldier Bartolomé de Usagre so that Narvaez should not be able to learn from him what was going on, and I will relate what we did in our Camp.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

How in our Camp we held a Muster of the soldiers who were present, and how they brought two hundred and fifty very long pikes with two copper spikes each, which Cortés had ordered to be made in some towns which they call [the towns of] the Chinantecs and how we taught ourselves to handle them so as to defeat the horsemen of Narvaez, and other things that happened in camp.

LET us go back to say something about what else happened before that which I have already related. As soon as Cortés heard news of the fleet that Narvaez was bringing he at once despatched a soldier who had served in Italy and was very skilful with all arms and especially at making play with a pike, and sent him to a province called the [End of the] Chinantecs, near to where our soldiers had stayed when they went to search for mines, for the people of that province were very hostile to the Mexicans and they had accepted our friendship a few days before. They used as arms very long lances, longer than ours from Castile, with two fathoms of flint and [stone] knives,[1] so

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[1] Dos brazas de pedernal y navajas; literally, two fathoms of flint and knives. In Chapter CXXIII they are described as having one fathom of flint knives (une braza de cuchilla de pedernales). They were probably double-pointed spears with two cutting edges of flint knives extending from the points for some distance along each side of the shaft.

he sent to beg them to bring him promptly, wherever he might be, three hundred of them, and to remove the knives, and, as they possessed much copper, to make for each one two metal points. The soldier took with him the model which the points should resemble, and they promptly searched for the lances and made the points, for throughout the province at that time there were four or five towns, not to count many farms, [where] they collected them and fashioned the points far more perfectly than those we sent to order from them. He also commanded our soldier, who was called Tovilla, to demand of them two thousand warriors, and by the day of the feast of Espíritu Santo to come with them to the town of Tanpaniguita, for so it is called, or to ask where we were, and that the two thousand men should bring lances; and the soldier asked for them accordingly. The Caciques said that they would come with the warriors, and the soldier soon came with a matter of two hundred Indians who carried the lances, and another of our soldiers named Barrientos remained [behind] to accompany the other warriors. This Barrientos was at the farm and mines which they were exploring, already mentioned by me, and there it was arranged that he was to come to our camp in the manner stated, for it was a journey of ten or twelve leagues from one place to the other.

When our soldier Tovilla came with the lances they proved to be extremely good, and the order was then given, and the soldier trained us and taught us how to handle them, and how we were to cope with the horsemen. When we had made our muster and the list and record of all the soldiers and captains of our army, we found that there were two hundred and sixty-six including the drummer and fifer, and not counting the Friar. There were five horsemen and two small cannon, a few cross-bowmen and fewer musketeers; what we relied on for

fighting with Narvaez was the lances, and they were very good as will be seen further on. Let us leave the arms at the muster and the lances, and I will relate how Andrés de Duero, whom Narvaez had sent, arrived at our camp and brought with him our soldier Usagre and two Indian servants from Cuba, and what Cortés and Duero said and arranged, as we came to understand later on.

CHAPTER CXIX.

How there came to our camp Andrés de Duero and the soldier Usagre and two Cuban Indians, servants of Duero, and who Duero was, and what he came for, and what we accepted as certain, and what was arranged.

I MUST now go far back to relate what happened in time past. I have already stated in a much earlier chapter, that when we were in Santiago de Cuba, Cortés settled with Andrés de Duero and with a King's accountant named Amador de Lares, who were great friends of Diego Velásquez (Duero was his Secretary), that they should use their influence with Diego Velásquez to have [him] Cortés appointed Captain General to go with that fleet, and that he would divide with them all the gold, silver and jewels that might fall to his lot. As Andrés de Duero saw that his partner Cortés was at that moment so rich and powerful, under pretext of making peace and acting in favour of Narvaez, he concealed his real intention, which was to claim his share in the partnership, for his other partner Amador de Lares was already dead. As Cortés was far-sighted and crafty he not only promised to give him [Andrés de Duero] great wealth, but also to give him a command over the whole force neither more nor less than he himself [held], and after New Spain was conquered to give him as many other towns as he himself possessed provided that he

would induce Augustin Bermudez, who was Chief Constable in the camp of Narvaez, and other gentlemen (whom I will not name here), to endeavour at all events to lead Narvaez astray, so that he should not escape with life or honour and should be defeated; for when Narvaez was dead, or a prisoner, and his expedition wrecked, then they would be left masters, and would divide the gold and the towns of New Spain [between themselves].

The better to lure and bind him [Duero] to what has been said he [Cortés] loaded his two Cuban Indians with gold, and it seems that Duero gave a promise to him, and Augustin had already made the [same] promise by signature and letters. Cortés also sent many ingots and jewels of gold to Bermudez and to a priest named Joan de Leon and the priest Guevara, who was the man Narvaez sent first [of all], and to other friends of his, and he wrote to them what seemed advisable so that they might help him in every way.

Andrés de Duero stayed in our camp from the day of his arrival until after dinner the following day which was the day of the feast of Espíritu Santo. He dined with Cortés and conversed a while with him in private. When dinner was over, Duero took leave of all of us both Captains and soldiers and then, already on horseback, he once more approached Cortés and said: "What are your orders, your honour; I wish to depart." He [Cortés] answered him, "God be with you, and look to it, Señor Andrés de Duero, that what we have been talking about be well arranged, if not, by my conscience, (for it was thus Cortés swore,) before three days are passed I shall be there in your camp, and, if I find anything contrary to what we have agreed upon, your honour will be the first to be pierced by my lance."

Duero laughed and said, "I shall fail in nothing which concerns my service to your honour," and he set off at

once, and when he arrived at his camp it is said that he told Narvaez that Cortés and all of us who were with him were very willing to go over to Narvaez himself.

Let us stop talking about this Duero affair and I will relate how Cortés promptly sent to summon one of our Captains named Juan Velásquez de Leon, a person of great importance, and a friend of Cortés, and a near relation of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, whom to the best of our belief Cortés had bound to himself and conciliated by great gifts and promises that he would give him command in New Spain and make him his equal, for Juan Velásquez always showed himself to be his very trusty follower and true friend as will be seen further on. When he had come before Cortés and made his salute he said "what are your orders, sir," and as Cortés at times spoke honeyed words with a smile on his lips, he said half laughingly "what made me summon the Señor Juan Velásquez is what Andrés de Duero has reported [which is] that Narvaez says, and such is the report throughout his camp, that if your honour should go there that I would be at once undone and defeated, for they believe that you would join with Narvaez, and for this reason I have resolved that, for the life of me, if you really love me, you shall go on your good grey mare, and take all your gold and the *fanfarrona*, (which was a very heavy golden chain,) and other trifles that I will give you, in order to give them in my name to whomsoever I may direct. Your heavy *fanfarrona* you shall carry over one shoulder, and another chain which weighs even more than it, you shall wear wound twice round, then you will see how Narvaez loves you. Try to come away again soon, for then the Señor Diego de Ordás may go there, whom they wish to see in his (Narvaez's) camp as he has been a Mayor-domo of Diego Velásquez."

Juan Velásquez answered that he would do what His

Excellency commanded him, but that he would not take his own gold and his chains with him, only such as might be given him with orders to hand over to certain persons, but, wherever he might be, he would be at all times ready to render His Excellency such service as no amount of gold or diamonds could procure. "That was my belief," said Cortés, "and with this confidence in you, sir, I send you, but unless you take all your gold and jewels as I command, I do not wish you to go." Juan Velásquez replied "whatever your honour commands shall be done," but he did not wish to take his jewels. Cortés spoke to him then in private and he at once set out and took with him one of Cortés's orderlies named Juan del Rio to attend on him. Let us leave this departure of Juan Velásquez, for it was rumoured that Cortés sent him to put Narvaez off his guard, and turn to relate what happened in our camp. Within two hours of the departure of Juan Velásquez, Cortés ordered Canillas (for so our drummer was called) to beat the drum and Benito de Beger our fifer to sound his tambourine, and he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval who was Captain and Chief Constable to summon all the soldiers, and we at once began our march in quick time along the road to Cempoala. While we were on the march two native swine were killed which have the navel[1] on the back, and many of the soldiers said that it was a sign of victory, and we slept on a bank near a small stream, with our scouts on ahead and spies and patrols.

When dawn broke we went straight along and marched until midday when we had a rest by a river where the town of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz now stands,[2] (where the merchant ships that come from Castile unload,) for at

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[1] A scent gland.

[2] The third site of the city, on the Rio Antigua.

that time there was a settlement by the river, consisting of some Indian houses and groves, and as the sun is very powerful in that country we rested, for, as I have said, we were carrying our arms and pikes. Let us now interrupt our march and I will relate what took place between Juan Velásquez and Narvaez, and one of his captains who was also named Diego Velásquez, and was a nephew of Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, for there he [Juan Velásquez] ran against him.

CHAPTER CXX.

How Juan Velásquez de Leon and Cortés's orderly named Juan del Rio arrived at the Camp of Narvaez, and what happened there.

I HAVE already said how Cortés sent Juan Velásquez de Leon with an orderly to accompany him to Cempoala, to see what Narvaez, who was so anxious to have him in his company, wanted of him. Therefore, hardly had they left our camp when Juan Velásquez made such speed on the road, that he reached Cempoala by dawn and dismounted at the house of the fat Cacique, (but Juan del Rio had no horse,) and thence they went afoot to the quarters of Narvaez. The Indians recognized him [Juan Velásquez] and they were delighted to see and speak to him and said aloud to some of the soldiers of Narvaez, who were quartered in the house of the fat Cacique, that this was Juan Velásquez de Leon one of Malinche's Captains. As soon as the soldiers heard this they went running to Narvaez to demand rewards for bringing the good news that Juan Velásquez de Leon had come.

When Narvaez heard of his arrival, before Juan Velásquez could reach his quarters, he went out to receive him in the street accompanied by some soldiers. Juan Velásquez and Narvaez on meeting they made a great show

of reverence to one another, and Narvaez embraced Juan Velásquez and pressed him to be seated on a chair, for they at once brought chairs and seats near to him, and he asked him why he did not dismount at his quarters, and he ordered his servants to go at once for the horse and baggage, if he had brought any, so that all might be placed in his house and stables and quarters. Juan Velásquez replied that he wished to return at once, and that he had only come to kiss his hands and those of all the gentlemen of his camp, and to see if his Excellency and Cortés could agree to keep peace and friendship. Then it is said that Narvaez promptly repelled Juan Velásquez, greatly annoyed that such words should be spoken to him. "What! to make friends and peace with a traitor who had rebelled with the fleet against his cousin Diego Velásquez?" and Juan Velásquez replied that Cortés was no traitor but a faithful servant of His Majesty, and that to appeal to our Lord and King as he had done should not be imputed to him as treason, and he begged him [Narvaez] to use no such word in his presence. Then Narvaez began to bribe him [Juan Velásquez] with great promises to [persuade him to] remain with him and to arrange with the followers of Cortés to give him [Cortés] up and to come at once and place themselves under his command, promising him [Velásquez de Leon] with oaths that he should be the foremost captain in all the camp and be the second in command. Juan Velásquez answered that it would be a greater treason to desert the Captain to whom he had sworn [obedience] during war, and to abandon him knowing [as he did] that all that he had done in New Spain was in the service of God our Lord and His Majesty, and that Cortés could not avoid appealing, in the way he had appealed, to our King and Master, and he begged him [Narvaez] to say no more about it.

By that time all the most important Captains from the

Camp of Narvaez had come to see Juan Velásquez and they embraced him with the greatest courtesy for Juan Velásquez was much of a courtier, well made, robust, of good presence and features and with a becoming beard, and he wore a great golden chain thrown over his shoulder giving it two turns under his arm, and it suited him well in the part of the gallant and brave captain. Let us leave the good looks of Juan Velásquez and how all the captains of Narvaez were admiring him, and even our Padre de la Merced also came to see him and speak to him in private, and there also came Andrés de Duero and the chief constable, Bermudez.

It seems that at that time certain captains of Narvaez, named Gamarra, and one Juan Fuste, and one Juan Bono de Quexo, a Biscayan, and Salvatierra the swaggerer, advised Narvaez to arrest Juan Velásquez at once, for it seemed to them that he was speaking very freely in favour of Cortés. When Narvaez had already secretly ordered his Captains and Constables to take him prisoner, Augustin Bermudez and Andrés de Duero and our Padre de la Merced and a priest named Juan de Leon, and other persons from among those who had professed themselves friends of Cortés, heard about it, and they said to Narvaez that they were astonished at his ordering Juan Velásquez de Leon to be arrested, for what could Cortés do against him [Narvaez] even if he had another hundred Juan Velásquezes in his Company?—that he should consider the honour and respect that Cortés paid to all those who had gone to his camp, and how he goes out to receive them all, and gives them gold and jewels, and other things such as cloths and fly whisks, and how they came back laden like bees to their hives; that he [Cortés] might easily have arrested Andrés de Duero and the priest Guevara and Amaya and Vergara the notary and Alonzo de Mata and others who had gone to his camp, and he did not do so; on

the contrary, as they have stated, he paid them great honour; and it would be better once again to speak to Juan Velásquez with much courtesy and to invite him to dinner. This seemed to Narvaez to be good advice, and he promptly spoke again to him [Juan Velásquez] in very affectionate terms so that he should be the mediator through whom Cortés might give himself up with all of us; and he invited him to dinner. Juan Velásquez replied that in that case he would do what he could, although he held Cortés to be very obstinate and stubborn in the matter, and that it would be better to divide the provinces, and his honour [Narvaez] should choose the land that pleased him best. This Juan Velásquez said in order to pacify him.

While these conversations were going on the Padre de la Merced whispered to Narvaez, as his confidant and adviser which he had already become, "Order them to muster all your artillery and cavalry and musketeers and crossbowmen and soldiers so that Juan Velásquez de Leon and the orderly Juan del Rio may see them, and so that Cortés may fear your force and your people and may surrender to your Excellency however unwillingly." This the Friar said to him as though he were his faithful servant and friend and to make him exercise all the horsemen and soldiers that were in the camp. So on the advice of our Friar he [Narvaez] held a review before Juan Velásquez de Leon and Juan del Rio, and in the presence of our cleric. When it was finished Juan Velásquez said to Narvaez, "You have brought a great force with you, may God increase it." Then Narvaez replied, "Ah, you can see that had I wished to go against Cortés I should have taken him prisoner and all of you that are with him." Then Juan

and us soldiers too, but we shall know well how to defend ourselves," and so the conversation ended.

The next day Juan Velásquez was invited to dinner, and there was dining with Narvaez a nephew of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, who was also one of his captains, and while they were eating at table he began to talk of how Cortés had failed to surrender to Narvaez and of the letter and summons that he sent him. And from one speech to another, the nephew of Diego Velásquez (who was also called Diego Velásquez like his uncle) exceeded all bounds and said that Cortés and all of us who were with him were traitors, because they did not come to submit themselves to Narvaez. When Juan Velásquez heard this he rose from the chair on which he was seated and with great ceremony said, "Señor Captain Narvaez, I have already told you that I cannot acquiesce in such words being spoken against Cortés or against any of those who are with him, as those that have been uttered, for it is truly malicious to speak evil of us who have served His Majesty so loyally."

Diego Velásquez replied that his words were well said and that he [Juan Velásquez] was upholding a traitor, and that traitors were as worthless as he was, and that he was not a good Velásquez. Juan Velásquez grasped his sword and said that he lied and that he was a better gentleman than he was, and a good Velásquez, better than him or his uncle, and that he would let him know it, if the Señor Captain Narvaez would give him leave. As there were many captains present, followers of Narvaez as well as some friends of Cortés, they placed themselves between them (for Juan Velásquez was actually going to give him a sword thrust) and they advised Narvaez that he should promptly order him [Juan Velásquez] to leave the camp, both him and the Friar and Juan del Rio for they felt sure that they were doing no good there. At once without

further delay they were ordered to leave, and they, who could hardly await the hour of getting back to our camp, complied.

It is said that Juan Velásquez mounted on his good mare in his coat of mail, which he always wore, and helmet and great golden chain, went to take leave of Narvaez, and Diego Velásquez, the youth who had quarrelled, was there with Narvaez, and he [Juan Velásquez] said to Narvaez, "What are your Honour's orders for our camp?" Narvaez replied in a great rage that he should get him gone and that it would have been better had he never come, and the youth Diego Velásquez uttered threats and offensive words to Juan Velásquez, who answered that he was very audacious and deserved chastisement for the words he had spoken, and placing his hand on his beard [he cried] by this [my beard I swear] that I will see before many days whether your courage is as good as your words. As six or seven from the camp of Narvaez who had already been won over to the side of Cortés had come with Juan Velásquez to take leave of him, it is reported that they disputed with him as though they were angry, and told him to be off and not trouble himself to talk any more. So they parted, and keeping their horses at a good pace they set off for our camp, for Juan Velásquez was promptly warned that Narvaez wished to arrest them and many horsemen were got in readiness to follow after them. Keeping on their way they met us at the river I have spoken of which is now near Vera Cruz.

We were halted on this river which I have mentioned, taking a rest (for in that country the heat is very great, and as we marched with all our arms on our backs, each one carrying a pike, we were tired), when at that moment one of our scouts came to give word to Cortés that, a good way off, two or three persons were approaching on horseback, and we at once assumed that it would be

our ambassador Juan Velásquez de Leon and the Friar and Juan del Rio. When they arrived where we were, what delight and happiness we all experienced, and how many caresses and what praise did Cortés bestow on Juan Velásquez, and on our Friar, and he had good cause, for they were his faithful servants.

Then Juan Velásquez related, step by step, all that I have already stated had happened to them with Narvaez, and how he sent secretly to give the chains and ingots and jewels of gold to the persons whom Cortés had indicated. Then you should have heard our Friar! Being of a merry disposition, he well knew how to mimic his own behaviour as Narvaez's faithful servant, and [to tell] how, in sheer mockery, he advised him to hold the review and call out his artillery, and with what astuteness and cunning he gave him the letter. Then he next related what happened to him with Salvatierra, with whom he claimed close relationship (the Friar being a native of Olmedo and Salvatierra from beyond Burgos), and [told us] what fierce threats Salvatierra uttered as to what he would do and what would happen when he captured Cortés and all of us, and that he even complained to him about the soldiers who had stolen his horse and that of the other captain, and we were all as delighted at hearing about it as though we were going to a wedding or a merry-making, [although] we knew that the next day we should be going into battle and must conquer or die in it, we being but two hundred and sixty six soldiers and those of Narvaez being five times as numerous as we were. Let us go back to our story, which is that we all marched at once towards Cempoala, and we went to sleep near a small stream about a league from Cempoala where there was a bridge at that time, and where now there is a cattle ranch. Let us leave off there, and I will relate what was done in the camp of

Friar and Juan del Rio and then I will at once return to relate what we did in our camp. As two or three events took place simultaneously I am obliged to leave some of them so as to relate what is most pertinent to this story.

CHAPTER CXXI.

What was done in the camp of Narvaez after our ambassadors had left it.

It seems that when Juan Velásquez and the Friar and Juan del Rio went back, Narvaez was told by his captains that a belief had arisen in the camp that Cortés had sent many jewels of gold, and had gained friends to his side in the camp itself, and that it would be well to be much on the alert, and to warn the soldiers to have their arms and horses ready. In addition to this the fat Cacique, already mentioned by me, was in great fear of Cortés because he had allowed Narvaez to take the cloths and gold and to seize the Indian women, moreover he always had spies out [to see] where we slept and by what road we were coming, for so Narvaez had compelled him to do by force. When he knew that we were already arriving near to Cempoala the fat Cacique said to Narvaez: "What are you about? you are behaving very carelessly; do you think that Malinche and the Teules that he brings with him are the same as you are? Well, I tell you that when you least expect it he will be here and will kill you." Although they made fun of those words that the fat Cacique said to them, they did not fail to get ready, and the first thing they did was to declare war against us with fire and sword and free loot. This we heard from a soldier called El Galleguillo,[1] who came fleeing from the camp of Narvaez,

[1] El Galleguillo—the little Galician.

or Andrés de Duero sent him,) and he informed Cortés about the proclamation and about other things that it was as well to know.

Let us return to Narvaez, who ordered all the artillery, horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen to be taken out to a plain about a quarter of a league from Cempoala to await us there, and not to let one of us escape either death or capture. As it rained hard that day the followers of Narvaez had already had enough of waiting for us in the wet, and as they were accustomed neither to rain nor hardships and did not think we were of any account, his captains gave him notice that they would return to their quarters, as it was an outrage to be kept there waiting for two or three [men], as they said we were. [They further advised] that he should place his artillery, which numbered eighteen large cannon, in front of their quarters and that forty horsemen should remain all night waiting on the road by which we had to come to Cempoala; furthermore that he should station his spies by the ford of the river which we would have to cross, selecting good riders and lithe runners to carry messages, and that twenty horsemen should patrol throughout the night in the courtyards of the quarters of Narvaez. This plan which they communicated to him was to induce him to return to his quarters. Moreover, his captains said to him, "What, Señor? do you take Cortés to be so valiant as to dare with the three cats which he commands to come to this camp merely because this fat Indian says so? Don't you believe it, your Honour, he has only made this fuss and pretence of coming so that your Honour may grant good terms." It was in this way, as I have said, that Narvaez returned to his camp, and after his return he publicly promised to give two thousand pesos to whoever should kill Cortés or Gonzalo de Sandoval. He at once placed as spies at the river one Gonzalo Carrasco, who lives in Puebla, and

another man named something Hurtado, and the cry and countersign that he gave when they should fight against us in the camp was "Santa Maria, Santa Maria."

In addition to making these arrangements, Narvaez ordered many of the soldiers to sleep in his quarters, both musketeers and crossbowmen and others with halberds and he ordered as many more to be posted in the quarters of the Inspector Salvatierra and of Gamarra and of Juan Bono. Now that I have told about the arrangements Narvaez had made in his camp, I will turn to relate the orders that were given in ours.

CHAPTER CXXII.

About the plan and commands that were issued in our camp for the march against Narvaez, and the speech which Cortés made to us, and what we replied.

WHEN we arrived at the stream which I have already noticed and spoken about, which was about a league from Cempoala, where there were some good meadows, after having sent out our Scouts who were trustworthy men, our Captain Cortés (who was on horseback) sent to summon us, both Captains and soldiers, and when he saw us assembled, he said to us that he begged the favour of silence. Then he began a speech in such charming style, with sentences so neatly turned, that I assuredly am unable to write the like, so delightful was it and so full of promises, in which he at once reminded us of all that had happened to us since we set out from the Island of Cuba until then, and he said to us, "You well know that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, chose me as Captain General, not that there were not many gentlemen among you worthy of the post, and you knew and believed that we were coming to settle, for thus it was published and

proclaimed; however, as you have seen, he was [merely] sending to trade. You are already aware of what happened about my wishing to return to the Island of Cuba to render an account to Diego Velásquez of the task that he entrusted to me, in accordance with his instructions; but Your Honours ordered and obliged me to form a settlement in this country in His Majesty's name, and thanks to our Lord the settlement has been made and it was a very wise decision. In addition to this you made me your Captain General and the Chief Justice of the settlement until His Majesty may be pleased to order otherwise. As I have already mentioned there was certain talk of returning to Cuba among some of you, but I do not wish to dwell further on that; it is, so to say, a bygone and our staying was a blessed and good thing, for it is clear that we have done great service to God and His Majesty. You already know what we promised in our letters to His Majesty after having given the report and story of all our doings omitting nothing, [stating] that this land is, so far as we have seen and known, four times larger than Castile and has great cities and is very rich in gold and mines and that other [rich] provinces lie near it; and how we sent to beg His Majesty not to give it away to be governed or [held] in any other manner by any one whosoever, for we believe and know for certain that the Bishop of Burgos, Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, (who was at that time President of the Indies, and had great authority) would ask it from His Majesty for Diego Velásquez, or for some relation or friend of the Bishop's own. This land is so good that it would be proper to bestow it on an *Infante* or great Prince, and we are determined not to give it up to any one until His Majesty shall have heard our Proctors, and we behold his royal signature and approval, so that in all humility [we may do] what he may be pleased to order.

His Majesty's service all the gold and silver and jewels and everything that we possessed or had acquired, moreover you will well remember, gentlemen, how often we have been at the point of death in the wars and battles we have passed through; let me also remind you how inured we are to hardship, rains, winds and sometimes hunger, always having to carry our arms on our backs and to sleep on the ground whether it is snowing or raining, and if we examine it closely our skin is already tanned from suffering. I do not wish to refer to over fifty of our comrades who have died in the wars, nor to all of you who are bandaged in rags, and maimed from wounds which are not even yet healed. I should like to remind you of the troubles we had at sea and in the battles of Tabasco, and, those who were present at them, of the affairs of Almería or Cingapacinga, and how often in the mountains and on the roads attempts were made to take our lives. In what straits they placed us in the battles of Tlaxcala and how they handled us; then in the affair of Cholula, they had even prepared the earthen pots [in which] to cook our bodies; at the ascent of the passes you will not have forgotten the forces that Montezuma had gathered to exterminate us and you saw all the roads blocked with felled trees. Then during the dangers of the entry into and stay in the great City of Mexico, how many times did we look death in the face? who is able to count them?"

"Then look at those among you who have come here twice before I did, first with Francisco Hernández de Córdova and the other time with Juan de Grijalva; [consider] the hardships you underwent in discovering these countries, the hunger and thirst of the wounded and loss by death of so many soldiers and all the property of your own that you expended in those two voyages, and I say that I do not want to relate many other things that I ought to speak of in detail, for there would not be time to

finish talking about them," (because it was already late and the night was falling,) and he continued: "Let us add now, gentlemen, that as Pánfilo de Narvaez marches against us with great fury and desire to get us in his power, calling us traitors and malefactors even before he had landed, and sends messages to the great Montezuma, not in the words of a wise Captain, but of a mischief-maker, and as in addition to this he had the audacity to arrest one of His Majesty's Judges, for this great crime alone he deserves condign punishment. You have already heard how in his camp he has proclaimed war against us, and outlawed us as though we were Moors." Soon after saying this Cortés began to extol our appearance and courage in the late wars and battles [saying] that then we were fighting to save our lives, and that now we had to fight with all our strength [both] for life and honour, for they were coming to capture us and drive us from our houses and rob us of our property, "moreover," [he added] "we do not [even] know if he brings authority from our King and Lord or only support from our opponent the Bishop of Burgos, and if by ill luck we should fall into the hands of Narvaez, which God prevent, all the services that we have done both to God and His Majesty will turn to disservice, they will bring law suits against us, saying that we killed and robbed and destroyed the land, where [in truth] they are the ones to rob, brawl and disserve our Lord and King [but] they will claim that they have served him"; then [he said] that all that he had related we had seen with our own eyes, and that as true gentlemen we were bound to stand up for His Majesty's honour and our own homes and properties; he left Mexico on that understanding with confidence in God and in us, that first he trusted everything in the hands of God and next in our hands, and let us consider what we thought of it.

Then one and all we answered him, jointly with Juan

Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo and other captains, that he might feel sure that, God helping us, we would conquer or die over it, and he should look to it that they did not persuade him to terms, for if he should do anything underhand that we would stab him.

Then when he saw our determination he rejoiced greatly and said that it was because he had confidence in us that he had come, and he there made us many offers and promises that we should all of us be very wealthy and powerful. When this was over he turned to beg us as a favour to keep silence, for in wars and battles we had greater need of prudence and knowledge (so as to conquer the enemy thoroughly) than of daring, and because he had experience of our great bravery, and that each one of us would want to push forward among the first to get at the enemy and so to gain honour, therefore we should be arranged in order and in companies. As the first thing to be done was to seize their artillery, which numbered eighteen cannon, and was posted in front of the quarters of Narvaez, he appointed a relation of his own to go as Captain, whose name was Pizarro (I have already said before, that at that time neither Pizarros nor Peru were known to fame, for Peru had not been discovered). This Pizarro was an active youth, and he assigned to him sixty young soldiers, and he named me among them, and ordered that after the artillery was taken, we should all run to the quarters of Narvaez which were on a very lofty Cue. For the capture of Narvaez he named as Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval with sixty companions, and as he was Chief Constable he gave him an order which read thus :—Gonzalo de Sandoval Chief Constable of this New Spain, in His Majesty's name I command you to seize the person of Pánfilo Narvaez, and should he resist, to kill him, for the benefit of the service of God and the King, insomuch as he has committed many acts to the disservice of God and of

His Majesty, and arrested an Oidor. Given in this camp and signed Hernando Cortés, countersigned by his Secretary Pedro Hernández.

After issuing the order, he promised to give three thousand pesos to the soldier who first laid hand on him [Narvaez], and to the second two thousand, and one thousand to the third, and he said that what he was promising was as a reward, so that we could easily see the riches that were within our reach. Then he chose Juan Velásquez de Leon to arrest the youth Diego Velásquez with whom he had had the quarrel, and gave him another sixty soldiers, and he likewise named Diego de Ordás to arrest Salvatierra and gave him another sixty soldiers, and [there was] Cortés himself ready for an emergency with another twenty soldiers, to hasten to where he was most needed, and where he intended to be present was at the capture of Narvaez and Salvatierra.

As soon as the lists were given to the Captains, as I have related, he [Cortés] said, "I well know that the followers of Narvaez are in all four times as numerous as we are, but they are not used to arms, and as the greater part of them are hostile to their captain, and many of them are ill, and we shall take them by surprise, I have an idea that God will give us the victory, and that they will not persist much in their defence, for we shall procure them more wealth than their Narvaez can. So, gentlemen, our lives and honour depend, after God, on your courage and your strong arms, I have no other favour to ask of you or to remind you of but that this is the touchstone of our honour and our glory for ever and ever, and it is better to die worthily than to live dishonoured." And as at that time it was raining and was late he said no more. There is one thing I have thought about since, he never told us "I have such and such an arrangement in the camp made with so and so, which is in our favour" nor anything of

that kind, but merely that we were to fight like brave men ; and this omitting to tell us that he had friends in the camp of Narvaez, was the action of a very astute Captain, so that we should not fail to fight as very valiant men, and should place no hope in them, but only, after God, in our [own] great courage.

Let us leave this and relate how each of the Captains I have named was busy with the soldiers told off to him, [instructing them] how and in what way we were to fight, and encouraging one another. Then my captain Pizarro with whom we were to capture the artillery, (which was an affair of great danger, as we were to be the first to break through to the guns,) also explained with much spirit how we must force our way in and charge with our pikes until we had overpowered the artillery, and, as soon as we had captured it, our gunners (who were named Mesa, the Sicilian, Usagre and Arvega) with these same cannon and with the cannon balls which were ready to be discharged, should attack the enemy in the quarters of Salvatierra. I also wish to mention how greatly we stood in need of arms; thus for a breastplate, helmet or headpiece, or iron chin guard we would have given on that night whatever might be asked for it, and all that we had [already] gained.

Later on they secretly gave us the password that we were to use while fighting, which was " Espíritu Santo, Espíritu Santo," this is usually kept a secret in war time so that they may recognise and call each other by the password and the opposing side may not learn it. The followers of Narvaez had as their password and battle cry " Santa Maria, Santa Maria."

When all this was finished, as I was a great friend and servant of Captain Sandoval, he begged me as a favour to keep by him that night and follow him if I were still alive after capturing the artillery, and I promised him that I would do so, as will be seen later on.

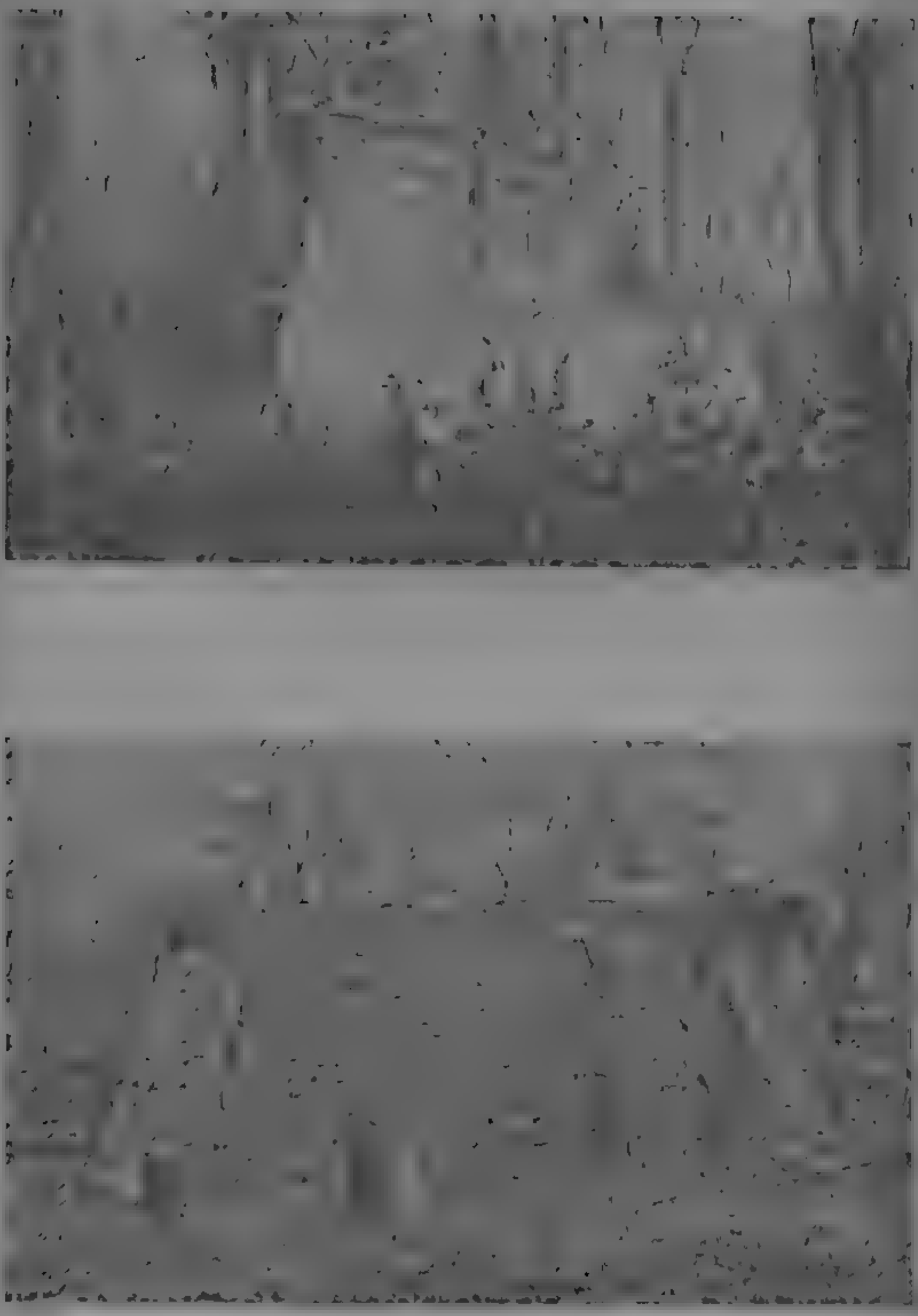
Let me say now that we spent part of the night in preparations and in thinking about what we had before us, for we had nothing at all on which to sup, and our scouts set off promptly and spies and sentinels were stationed. I myself and one other soldier were posted as sentinels, and before long a scout came to ask me if I had perceived anything, and I said "No." Then came an officer and said that the Galleguillo who came from the camp of Narvaez had disappeared and that he was a spy sent by Narvaez, and that Cortés ordered us to march at once on the road to Cempoala, and we heard our fifer and the beating of the drum and the Captains getting their soldiers ready, and we began to march. The Galleguillo was found asleep under some cloths, for as it was raining and the poor fellow was not accustomed to be in the wet and cold he went there to sleep. Then going along at a good pace, with the Captains looking after their men, we began our march as has been said, and without any playing on the fife or drum, and with the scouts reconnoitring the road, we reached the river where the spies of Narvaez were posted. These, as I have already said, were named Gonzalo Carrasco and Hurtado, and they were so little on the look out that we had time to capture Carrasco, and the other fled shouting to the camp of Narvaez, crying "To arms! to arms! Cortés is coming."

I remember that when we passed through that river, as it was raining, it had become rather deep and the stones were slippery and we were much encumbered with our pikes and our arms, and I also remember that when Carrasco was captured he said to Cortés in a loud voice "Take care, Señor Cortés, don't you go [on] there, for I swear that Narvaez is waiting for you in camp with all his army." Cortés gave him in charge of his secretary Pedro Hernández, and as we saw that Hurtado went to give the alarm we did not delay at all, so that Hurtado's going and

shouting the order "To arms, to arms" and Narvaez calling to his captains, and our charging with our pikes and engaging the artillery, happened simultaneously, and the gunners had time only to fire four shots, and some of the balls passed overhead but one of them killed three of our comrades.

At that moment all our Captains came up with the fife and drum beating the charge, and as many of the followers of Narvaez were mounted, they were delayed for a few moments by them, but they promptly unhorsed six or seven of them. Then we who had seized the guns did not dare to leave them, for Narvaez was shooting at us with arrows and muskets from his quarters and wounded seven of us. At that moment Captain Sandoval arrived and made a rush to scale the steps, and, in spite of the strong resistance which Narvaez made with muskets, partisans and lances and flights of arrows, he and his soldiers still gained ground. Then as soon as we soldiers saw that the guns were ours and no one was left to dispute possession of them, we gave them over to our gunners already named by me, and Captain Pizarro and many of us went to the assistance of Sandoval, for the soldiers of Narvaez had driven them back down two of the steps. On our arrival he turned to ascend the steps [again] and we stood for some time fighting with our pikes which were very long, and when I was least expecting it we heard shouts from Narvaez who cried "Holy Mary protect me, they have killed me and destroyed my eye."

When we heard this we at once shouted "Victory, Victory for those of the password of Espíritu Santo, for Narvaez is dead; Victory! Victory! for Cortés, for Narvaez has fallen!" but for all this we were not able to force the entrance to the Cue where they were posted, until a certain Martin López, (he of the launches) who was very tall, set fire to the thatch of the lofty Cue and all the companions



RUINS OF TEMPLES AT CEMPOALA.

Where the fighting between Cortés and Narvaez took place.

After photos by Dr. J. W. Fewkes.

of Narvaez came tumbling down the steps. Then we seized Narvaez, and the first to lay hands on him was Pedro Sánchez Farfan, a good soldier, and I gave him to Sandoval and the other Captains who were with him, and we were still shouting and crying "Long live the King, long live the King, and in his Royal Name, Cortés, Cortés, Victory, Victory for Narvaez is dead!"

Let us leave this struggle and return to Cortés and the other Captains who were each one of them still fighting against the Captains of Narvaez who had not yet yielded, notwithstanding the shots that our gunners fired at them, and our shouts and the death of Narvaez, for they were posted in very lofty temples. As Cortés was very sagacious he promptly ordered it to be proclaimed that all the followers of Narvaez should come at once and yield themselves up under the banner of His Majesty, and to Cortés in his Royal name, under pain of death. Yet with all this the followers of the youth Diego Velásquez and those of Salvatierra did not give in, for they were in very lofty temples and could not be reached until Gonzalo de Sandoval went with half of us who were with him, with the cannon and the proclamation, and forced his way in and seized Salvatierra and those in his company as well as the youth Diego Velásquez. Then Sandoval came with all those who had gone to capture Narvaez to put him in a safer place. And after Cortés and Juan Velásquez and Ordás had made prisoners of Salvatierra and the youth Diego Velásquez and Gamarra, and Juan Yuste and Juan Bono the Biscayan and other persons of importance, Cortés came, without being recognised, in company with our Captains to where we held Narvaez. As the heat was great, and as Cortés was burdened with his arms, and had been going from place to place shouting to our soldiers and giving out proclamations, he arrived sweating and tired and panting for breath, and he spoke to Sandoval twice,

and did not succeed in saying it [what he wanted] on account of the trouble he was in; and he said "What about Narvaez, what about Narvaez?" and Sandoval said, "He is here; he is here and well guarded." Then Cortés, still much out of breath, turned to say "Take care, my son Sandoval, that you do not leave him, and that you and your comrades do not let him break away while I go and attend to other matters, and see to it that these other captains who are prisoners with him are guarded in every way." Then he promptly went off to issue other proclamations to the effect that under pain of death all the followers of Narvaez should at once come to that place to surrender themselves under the banner of His Majesty and in his royal name to Hernando Cortés his Captain General and Chief Justice, and that no one should carry arms, but that all should give them up and hand them over to our Constables.

All this was done in the night, for it was not yet dawn and it still rained from time to time; then the moon came out, but when we had arrived there it was very dark and was raining. However, the darkness was a help, for as it was so dark there were many Cucuyos,[1] for so they are called in Cuba, which give light by night, and the soldiers of Narvaez believed that they were the match [fires] of muskets.

Let us leave this and go on [to say] that as Narvaez was very badly wounded and had lost an eye, he asked leave of Sandoval for his surgeon named Maestre Juan, whom he had brought in his fleet, to attend to his eye and to the other captains who were wounded, and permission was given. While they were being doctored, Cortés came near by, on the sly, so that they should not recognise him, to see him [Narvaez]. Some one whispered to Narvaez that

[1] *Fire-flies.*

Cortés was there, hardly was this said to him than Narvaez exclaimed, "Señor Captain Cortés, you must consider this a great feat, this victory which you have won over me and the capture of my person"; and Cortés answered him that he gave many thanks to God for giving it [the victory] to him and to the gallant gentlemen and comrades who had a share in it, but that to capture and defeat him [Narvaez] who had seen fit to dare to arrest one of His Majesty's Judges, was one of the least important things he had done in New Spain. As soon as he had said this he went away and said no more, but ordered Sandoval to place a strong guard over him [Narvaez] and to stay with him himself and not leave him in charge of others. We had already placed two pairs of fetters on him, and we carried him to an apartment and stationed soldiers to guard him, and Sandoval designated me as one of them, and privately he ordered me not to allow any of the followers of Narvaez to speak to him until it was daytime and Cortés could place him in greater security.

Let us leave this, and relate how Narvaez had sent forty horsemen to wait for us on the road, when we were on our way to his camp, as I have said in the chapter that treats of the subject, and we were aware that they were still wandering in the country and were fearful lest they should come and attack us, and rescue their captains and Narvaez himself whom we held prisoners. So we kept much on the alert, and Cortés determined to send and beg them as a favour to come into camp, and made great offers and promises to them all.

He despatched Cristóbal de Olid, who was our quartermaster, and Diego de Ordás, to bring them in, and they went on horses that we had captured from the followers of Narvaez (for our horsemen brought no horses with them but left them picketed in a small wood near Cempoala; we brought no horses, only pikes, swords, shields and

daggers) and they went out into the country with one of the soldiers of Narvaez who showed them the track by which they had gone, and they came upon them, and gave expression to so many offers and promises on behalf of Cortés that they won them over, but some gentlemen among them bore him [Cortés] ill will.

Before they reached our camp it was broad daylight, and the drummers brought by Narvaez, without word from Cortés or any of us, began to beat their kettledrums and play on their fifes and tambourines and cry "Viva, Viva the gala of the Romans! who few as they are have conquered Narvaez and his soldiers"; and a negro named Guidela whom Narvaez had brought with him, who was a very witty jester cried out and said "Behold! The Romans never accomplished such a feat"; and although we told them to keep quiet and not to beat their drums, they would not do so until Cortés sent to arrest the drummer, who was named Tápia and was half crazy. At this moment came Cristóbal de Olid and Diego de Ordás and brought in the horsemen whom I have mentioned, and among them came Andrés de Duero and Agustin Bermúdez and many of our Captains' friends, who as soon as they came went to kiss hands to Cortés who with us around him was seated on an armchair, wearing a long orange-coloured robe with his armour beneath it. Then to see the graciousness with which he addressed and embraced them, and the flattering words that he said to them were matters worthy of note, and how cheerful he was, and he had good cause in seeing himself at that moment such a lord and so powerful, and so after kissing his hands each one passed to his quarters.

Let us speak now of those who were killed and wounded on that night. The standard-bearer of Narvaez named something de Fuentes, a gentleman from Seville, died. Another of Narvaez' captains named Rojas, a native of Old Castile also died, and two of the other followers of

Narvaez died. There also died one of the three soldiers who had belonged to us and had gone over to him [Narvaez], whom we called Alonzo García the Carter. Many of the followers of Narvaez were wounded, and four of our men died and more were wounded, and the fat Cacique also was wounded, for when he knew that we were nearing Cempoala he took refuge in the quarters of Narvaez and there he was wounded, and Cortés at once ordered him to be well attended to and placed him in his house so that he should not be molested. Then the mad Cervantes and Escalonilla, who were those who had been of our party and had gone over to Narvaez, fared badly, for Escalona was severely wounded and Cervantes well beaten, and I have already mentioned that the Carter was dead.

Let us go to those in the quarters of Salvatierra the fierce, of whom his soldiers say that never in all their lives did they see a more worthless man, or one so much alarmed at death when he heard us beat to arms. It is reported that when we cried out "Victory, Victory for Narvaez is dead," he promptly said that he was very sick at the stomach and was no good for anything. This I have related because of his threats and bravado; some of the men of his company were wounded.

Let us speak of the quarters of Diego Velásquez and the other captains who were with him, who were some of them wounded. Our Captain Juan Velásquez de Leon captured Diego Velásquez, him with whom he had the strife when he dined with Narvaez, and he took him to his quarters and ordered him to be cared for and treated with all honour.

Now I have given an account of all that happened in our battle, let us now relate what else was done.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

How after the defeat of Narvaez in the way I have related, there arrived the Indians of Chinantla[1] whom Cortés had sent to summon, and about other things that happened.

I HAVE already said in the chapter that treats of the subject that Cortés had sent to advise the towns of Chinantla (whence they had brought the lances and pikes) that two thousand of their Indians with their lances (which are much longer than ours) should come to aid us, and they came late in the afternoon of this very day after Narvaez had been made prisoner. They came under the command of the Caciques of their own towns and of one of our soldiers named Barrientos who had remained in Chinantla for that purpose. They entered Cempoala in good array, two by two, and they carried their very long lances of great thickness, which have on them a fathom of stone knives which cut like [steel] knives, as I have already said, and each Indian carried a shield like a *pavesina*, and with their banners extended and many plumes of feathers and drums and trumpets, and between every two lances an archer and shouting and whistling and crying "Long live the King, long live the King our Lord and Hernando Cortés in his Royal Name" they made their entrance so gallantly that it was an affair worthy of note. They were fifteen hundred in number and, from the manner and good order with which they came in, it looked as though there were three thousand of them. When the followers of Narvaez beheld them they were astonished, and it is reported that they said to one another, if those people had caught them in the rear or had come in with us, what could have stopped them? Cortés spoke to the Indian

[1] Chinanta in the text.

Captains very affectionately, thanking them for coming, and he gave them beads from Castile and ordered them to return at once to their towns, and not to injure other towns on the road, and he sent back this same Barrientos with them. I will stop here and will relate what else Cortés did.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

How Cortés sent Captain Francisco de Lugo to the port, accompanied by two soldiers who had been masters of ships [with orders] to bring at once to Cempoala all the Masters and mates from the ships of the fleet of Narvaez, and to remove the sails, rudders and compasses, so that they could not go to Diego Velásquez in the Island of Cuba to report what had taken place; and how he appointed an Admiral of the Sea, and other things that happened.

AFTER Pánfilo de Narvaez had been defeated, and he and his Captains made prisoners, and all the rest of his followers disarmed, Cortés directed Captain Francisco de Lugo to proceed to the port where the fleet of Narvaez, which numbered eighteen ships, was lying, and to order all the mates and masters of the ships to come up to Cempoala, and to remove the sails, rudders and compasses, so that they should not carry the news to Diego Velásquez in Cuba, and that if they refused to obey him, he was to make them prisoners. Francisco de Lugo took with him two of our soldiers, who had been sailors, to assist him Cortés also ordered one Sancho de Barahona, whom Narvaez held as a prisoner with two other soldiers, to be sent to him at once. This Barahona was [afterwards] a settler in Guatemala and a rich man, and I remember that he was very ill and thin when he came before Cortés who ordered him to be treated with honour.

Let us go back to the Masters and mates who promptly

came to kiss hands to Captain Cortés, and he made them take an oath that they would not leave his command, and would obey whatever orders he gave them.

Then he appointed as Admiral and Captain of the Sea one Pedro Cavallero who had been master of one of the ships of Narvaez, a person whom Cortés thoroughly trusted and to whom it is said he first gave some good ingots of gold, and him he ordered not to allow any ship to depart from that port in any direction whatever; and he ordered all the other masters, mates and sailors to obey him, and [added] should Diego Velásquez send more ships from Cuba, (for he had news that there were two ships ready to come) that he must have the means and discernment to make a prisoner of the captain who would come in either of them, and should remove the rudder, sails and compasses, until [he] Cortés should decide otherwise. Pedro Cavallero accomplished all this as I shall relate further on.

Let us now leave the ships and the safe harbour and speak of what was planned between our camp and the followers of Narvaez. To begin with, orders were given that Juan Velásquez de Leon should proceed to conquer and form a settlement in the region of Panuco, and for this Cortés allotted him one hundred and twenty soldiers, one hundred were to be followers of Narvaez with twenty of our men mixed with them as they had more experience in war. They were also to take two ships, so that they might explore the coast beyond the river Panuco.

He also gave another command to Diego de Ordás of another hundred and twenty soldiers to go and settle in the region of Coatzacoalcos, again one hundred were to be followers of Narvaez and twenty of our own men, in the same way as with Juan Velásquez de Leon. He also was to take two ships to despatch from the Rio de Coatzacoalcos to the Island of Jamaica for brood mares, calves

and swine, sheep, and chickens of Spanish breed, and goats to multiply in the country, for the province of Coatzacoalcos was well suited for it.

In order that those Captains and their soldiers could set out fully armed, Cortés had them equipped, and ordered all the prisoners who were captains under Narvaez to be set free, except Narvaez [himself] and Salvatierra who said that he was ill of the stomach. Now as to furnishing them with all their arms, as some of our soldiers had already taken some of their horses, swords and other things, Cortés ordered them all to be given back to them, and over our refusal to give them up there occurred certain angry discussions, for we soldiers said that we held them very rightfully and that we refused to give them back to them, for in the Camp of Narvaez war had been proclaimed against us with free loot, and they came to capture us with that intention and to seize what we possessed, calling us, who were such faithful servants of His Majesty, traitors, and we would not give the things back to them. Cortés still contended that we must give them up, and as he was Captain General we had to do what he ordered. I gave them a horse which I had hidden away saddled and bridled, and two swords and three poignards and a dagger. Many others of our soldiers also gave up horses and arms. Alonzo de Ávila was a captain and a person who dared to speak his mind to Cortés, and he and the Padre de la Merced together spoke privately to Cortés, and told him that apparently he desired to imitate Alexander of Macedon, who after he had accomplished with his soldiers some great exploit, was more solicitous to honour and show greater favour to those whom he had conquered than to his captains and soldiers who had gained the victory. This they said on account of what they observed during those days that we remained there after Narvaez was made prisoner, (namely) that all the golden jewels

that the Indians had presented to Cortés and all the food he gave to the Captains of Narvaez, forgetting us as though he had never known us, and it was not well done, but a very great ingratitude after we had placed him in his present position.

To this Cortés replied that all that he possessed both his person and his property was ours, but for the present he could do no more than propitiate the followers of Narvaez with gifts, good words and promises, for they were many [in number] and we were few, lest they should rise against him and us and kill him.

To this Alonzo de Ávila replied and made use of somewhat haughty expressions, so much so that Cortés told him that no one was obliged to follow him against his will, for the women in Castile have borne and still bear soldiers. Alonzo de Ávila answered in very insulting and disrespectful words that it was true enough, "soldiers and captains and governors [as well] and we deserved that he should say so."

As matters stood at that time Cortés could do nothing but keep silence and win him over to his side by gifts and promises, for he knew him to be a man of great daring and, as Cortés was always in fear that possibly some day or other he might do him some harm, he let the matter pass. From that time onward he always employed him (Alonzo de Ávila) on negotiations of importance, thus he sent him to the Island of Santo Domingo, and later on to Spain when we sent the personal property and treasure of the great Montezuma, which that great French Corsair, Joan Florin, stole, as I will relate at the proper time and place.

Let us return now to Narvaez and a black man whom he brought covered with smallpox, and a very black affair it was for New Spain, for it was owing to him that the whole country was stricken and filled with it, from which there was great mortality, for according to what the

Indians said they had never had such a disease, and, as they did not understand it, they bathed very often, and on that account a great number of them died ; so that dark as was the lot of Narvaez, still blacker was the death of so many persons who were not Christians.

Let us leave all that now and relate how the inhabitants of Villa Rica who had remained as settlers, and did not go to Mexico, demanded of Cortés the share of the gold they were entitled to, and told Cortés, that although he had ordered them to remain there at that port and town, they also were serving God and the King, as well as we who went to Mexico, for their task was to guard the country and build the fortress, and some of them had been present at the affair of Almeria and were not yet well of their wounds, and all the others were present at the capture of Narvaez, and he must give them their shares.

Cortés, seeing that what they said was very just, replied that two of the leading settlers of that town, having authority from all of them, should go [for their share,] which he had put aside and would deliver to them ; and it seems to me that he told them that it was stored at Tlaxcala, but this I do not remember clearly. So they at once despatched two settlers of that town for the gold and the shares, the leading man was called Joan de Alcántara the elder.

Let us cease speaking of this, and later on we will relate what happened to Alcántara and the gold.

Let me say how ill luck suddenly turns the wheel, and after great good fortune and pleasure follows sadness : it so happened that at this moment came the news that Mexico was in revolt, and that Pedro de Alvarado was besieged in his fortress and quarters, and that they had set fire to this same fortress in two places and had killed seven of his soldiers and wounded many others, and he sent to demand assistance with great urgency and haste.

This news was brought by two Tlaxcalans without any letter, but a letter soon arrived by two other Tlaxcalans sent by Pedro de Alvarado in which he told the same story. When we heard this bad news, God knows how greatly it depressed us.

By forced marches we began our journey to Mexico. Narvaez and Salvatierra remained as prisoners in Villa Rica, and it seems to me that Rodrigo Rangel was left as lieutenant and captain charged with the duty of guarding Narvaez and protecting many of the followers of Narvaez who were convalescent.

Just at this moment, as we were ready to start, there arrived four great chieftains sent to Cortés by the great Montezuma to complain to him of Pedro de Alvarado, and what they said, with tears streaming from their eyes, was that Pedro de Alvarado sallied out from his quarters with all the soldiers that Cortés had left with him, and, for no reason at all, fell on their chieftains and Caciques who were dancing and celebrating a festival in honour of their Idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, Pedro de Alvarado having given them leave to do so. He killed and wounded many of them and in defending themselves they had killed six of his soldiers. Thus they made many complaints against Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés, somewhat disgusted, replied to the messengers that he would go to Mexico and put it all to rights. So they went off with that reply to their great Montezuma, who it is said, resented it as a very bad one and was enraged at it.

Cortés also promptly despatched letters to Pedro de Alvarado in which he advised him to look out that Montezuma did not escape, and that we were coming by forced marches, and he informed him about the victory we had gained over Narvaez, which Montezuma knew about already, and I will leave off here and tell what happened later on.

BOOK VIII.

THE FLIGHT FROM MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXXV.

How we went by forced marches, Cortés as well as all his captains and all the followers of Narvaez, except Pánfilo de Narvaez himself and Salvatierra who remained prisoners.

HEN the news came which I have recorded that Pedro de Alvarado was besieged and Mexico in revolt, the commands that had been given to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás for the purpose of going to form settlements at Panuco and Coatzacoalcos were rescinded and neither of them went, for all joined with us. Cortés spoke to the followers of Narvaez, for he felt that they would not accompany us willingly, and to induce them to give that assistance, he begged them to leave behind them their resentment over the affair of Narvaez, and he promised to make them rich and give them office, and as they came to seek a livelihood, and were in a country where they could do service to God and His Majesty and enrich themselves, now was their chance; and so many speeches did he make to them that one and all offered themselves to him to go with us, and if they had known the power of Mexico, it is certain that not one of them would have gone.

We were soon on our way by forced marches until we reached Tlaxcala, where we learnt that up to the time that Montezuma and his captains heard that we had defeated Narvaez they did not cease to attack, and had already killed seven of his [Alvarado's] soldiers and burnt his quarters, but as soon as they heard of our victory they ceased attacking him; but they added that they [Alvarado's company] were much exhausted through want of water and food, for Montezuma had failed to order food to be given to them.

Some Tlaxcalan Indians brought this news at the very moment we arrived, and Cortés at once ordered a muster to be made of the men he had brought with him and found over thirteen hundred soldiers counting both our people and the followers of Narvaez, and over ninety-six horses and eighty crossbowmen, and as many musketeers, and with these it seemed to Cortés that he had force enough to enter Mexico in safety. In addition to this the Caciques of Tlaxcala gave us two thousand Indian warriors, and we at once set out by forced marches to Texcoco which is a great city, and they paid no hónour to us there and not a single chieftain made his appearance, for all were hidden away and ill disposed.

We arrived at Mexico on the day of Señor San Juan de Junio[1] 1520, and no Caciques or Captains or Indians whom we knew appeared in the streets, and all the houses were empty when we reached the quarters where we used to lodge. The great Montezuma came out to the court-yard to embrace and speak to Cortés and bid him welcome, and congratulate him on his victory over Narvaez, and as Cortés was arriving victorious he refused to listen to him, and Montezuma returned to his quarters very sad and depressed.

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[1] Midsummer day.

When each one of us was lodged in the quarters he had occupied before we set out from Mexico to go to this affair of Narvaez, and the followers of Narvaez [were lodged] in other quarters, we then saw and talked with Pedro de Alvarado and the soldiers who had stayed with him; they gave us an account of the attacks the Mexicans had made on them, and the straits in which they [the Mexicans] had placed them, and we told them the story of our victory over Narvaez.

I will leave all this and relate how Cortés tried to find out what was the cause of the revolt in Mexico, for we clearly understood that it made Montezuma unhappy if [we should think] it had been his desire or had been done by his advice. Many of the soldiers who had remained with Pedro de Alvarado through that critical time said, that if Montezuma had had a hand in it, all of them would have been killed, but Montezuma calmed his people until they ceased to attack.

What Pedro de Alvarado told Cortés about the matter was that it was done by the Mexicans in order to liberate Montezuma, and because their Huichilobos ordered it, on account of our having placed the image of our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria and the Cross in his house. Moreover he said that many Indians had come to remove the holy image from the altar where we placed it, and were not able [to move it], and that the Indians looked upon it as a great miracle and had said so to Montezuma, who had told them to leave it in the place and altar in which it stood, and not to attempt to do otherwise, and so it was left.

Pedro de Alvarado further stated that because Narvaez' message to Montezuma, that he was coming to release him from prison and to capture us, had not turned out to be true, and because Cortés had told Montezuma that as soon as we possessed ships we should go and embark and leave the country entirely, and we were not going, and it

was nothing but empty words, and because it was evident that many more Teules were arriving, it seemed well [to the Mexicans], before the followers of Narvaez or our own men re-entered *Mexico to kill Pedro de Alvarado* and his soldiers and release the great Montezuma, and afterwards not to leave one of us or of the followers of Narvaez alive, all the more because they had taken it for granted that Narvaez and his soldiers would conquer us.

This discourse and account Pedro de Alvarado rendered to Cortés, and Cortés turned and asked him what was the reason that he attacked them when they were dancing and holding a festival, and he replied that he knew for certain that as soon as they had finished the festivals and dances and the sacrifices that they were offering to their Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, they would at once come and make an attack according to the agreement they had made between themselves, and this and all the rest he learned from a priest and from two chieftains and from other Mexicans.

Cortés said to him, "but they have told me that they asked your permission to hold festivals [areyto] and dances," he replied that it was true, and it was in order to take them unprepared, and to scare them, so that they should not come to attack him, that he hastened to fall on them.

When Cortés heard this he said to him, very angrily, that it was very ill done and a great mistake[1] and that he wished to God that Montezuma had escaped and not heard such an account from his Idols. So he left him and spoke no more to him about it.

Pedro de Alvarado himself also said[2] that when he

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[1] Scratched out in the original: "and not very true."—G.G.

[2] Scratched out in the original: "I wish to state that Pedro de Alvarado said that when the Mexican Indians fought against him, many of them said that a great *Teclecigata*, that is a great lady, such another as she who was placed in the great Cue, threw earth in their eyes and blinded them, and that a *guey Teule* (a great God) who rode

advanced against them in that conflict, he ordered a cannon, that was loaded with one ball and many small shot, to be fired, for as many squadrons of Indians were approaching to set fire to his quarters he sallied forth to fight them, and he ordered the cannon to be fired but it did not go off, and after he had made a charge against the squadrons which were attacking him, and many Indians were bearing down on him, while he was retreating to the fortress and quarters, then, without fire being applied to the cannon, the ball and the small shot was discharged and killed many Indians; and had it not so happened the enemy would have killed them all, and they did on that occasion carry off two of his soldiers alive.

Another thing Pedro de Alvarado stated, and this was the only thing that was [also] reported by the other soldiers, for the rest of the stories were told by Alvarado alone, and it is that they had no water to drink, and they dug in the courtyard, and made a well and took out fresh water, all [around] being salt; in all it amounted to many gifts that our Lord God bestowed on us.

Concerning this about the water I will add that in Mexico there was a spring where very often and at most times water[1] welled up. These things and others I heard

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on a white horse did them great damage, and that had it not been for them they would have killed them all. And it is stated that his chieftains told this to the great Montezuma, and if this were so, they were great miracles and we must always give thanks to God and to the Virgin Santa Maria Our Lady, His Blessed Mother, that he helped us in all things, and to the fortunate Señor Santiago.—G. G.

[1] Blotted out in the original: "somewhat sweeter than the rest. Some persons say that it was through greed to gain the great quantity of gold and jewels of great value which the Indians wore while dancing that Pedro de Alvarado went to attack them. I do not believe it, and never heard such a thing, nor is it credible that he would do such a thing, although the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas says so. This and other things never happened, for in truth he fell on them to terrify them and so that with the damage he did to them they should have sufficient to recover from and weep over, and would not come to attack him, and as they say "Who attacks conquers." It was appa-

related by persons of good faith and reliability, who were with Pedro de Alvarado when this happened, so I will leave off here and tell of the great attack that they promptly made on us, which was in the following manner.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

How they made war on us in Mexico, and the attacks they made on us and other things that happened.

WHEN Cortés saw that they had given us no sort of a reception in Texcoco, and had not even given us food, except bad food and with bad grace, and that we found no chieftains with whom to parley, and he saw that all were scared away and ill disposed, and observed the same condition on coming to Mexico, how no market was held and the whole place was in revolt, and he heard from Pedro de Alvarado about the disorderly manner in which he made his attack, and as it appears that on the march Cortés had spoken to the Captains of Narvaez glorifying himself on the great veneration and command that he enjoyed, and how on the road they [the Indians] would turn out to receive him and celebrate the occasion and give him gold, and that in Mexico he ruled as absolutely over the great Montezuma as over all his Captains, and that they would give him presents of gold, as they were used to do, and when everything turned out contrary to his expectations and they did not even give us food to eat, he was greatly irritated, and haughty towards the numerous

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rently much worse, for we were also credibly informed that Montezuma never ordered such an attack to be made, and, while they were fighting with Pedro de Alvarado, Montezuma ordered his people to stop. His followers replied that it was unbearable to have him kept a prisoner, or for them [the Spaniards] to come and kill them, as they had done, while they were dancing. They felt bound to release him and to kill all the Teules who were guarding him.—G. G.

Spaniards that he was bringing with him, and very sad and fretful. At this moment the great Montezuma sent two of his chieftains to beg our Cortés to go and see him, for he wished to speak to him, and the answer that he [Cortés] gave them was "go to, for a dog, who will not even keep open a market, and does not order food to be given us." Then when our Captains, that is Juán Velásquez de Leon, Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila, and Francisco de Lugo, heard Cortés say this, they exclaimed, "Señor, moderate your anger and reflect how much good and honour this king of these countries has done us, who is so good that had it not been for him we should all of us already be dead, and they would have eaten us, and remember that he has even given you his daughters."

When Cortés heard this he was more angry than ever at the words they said to him, as they seemed to be a reproof, and he said, "Why should I be civil to a dog who was treating secretly with Narvaez, and now you can see that he does not even give us food to eat." Our Captains replied, "That is to our minds what he ought to do and it is good advice." As Cortés had so many Spaniards there with him in Mexico, both of our own party and of the followers of Narvaez he did not trouble himself a whit about anything, and he spoke angrily and rudely again, addressing the chieftains and telling them to say to their Lord Montezuma that he should at once order the markets and sales to be held, if not he would see what would happen.

The chieftains well understood the offensive remarks that Cortés made about their Lord and even the reproof that our Captains gave to Cortés about it, for they knew them well as having been those who used to be on guard over their Lord, and they knew that they were good friends of their Montezuma, and according to the way they understood the matter they repeated it to Montezuma.

Either from anger [at this treatment] or because it had already been agreed on that we were to be attacked, it was not a quarter of an hour later that a soldier arrived in great haste and badly wounded. He came from a town close by Mexico named Tacuba and was escorting some Indian women who belonged to Cortés, one of them a daughter of Montezuma, for it appears that he [Cortés] had left them there in charge of the Lord of Tacuba, for they were relations of this same Lord, when we went off on the expedition against Narvaez. This soldier said that all the city and road by which he had come was full of warriors fully armed, and that they had taken from him the Indian women he was bringing and had given him two wounds and that if he had not let them [the women] go, they [the Mexicans] would already have captured him, and would have put him in a canoe and carried him off to be sacrificed, and that they had broken down a bridge.

When Cortés and some of us heard this it certainly depressed us greatly, for we, who were used to Indian fighting, understood thoroughly well what great numbers of them were wont to assemble, and that however well we fought, and notwithstanding the greater number of soldiers we had now brought with us, we should have to undergo great risk of our lives, hunger and hardship, especially as we were in such a powerful city. Let me go on and say that Cortés promptly ordered a Captain named Diego de Ordás to go with four hundred soldiers, and among them most of the crossbowmen and musketeers and some horsemen, and examine into what the soldier had reported who had arrived wounded and had brought the news, and that if he found that he could calm [the Indians] without fighting and disturbance that he should do so.

Diego de Ordás set out in the way that he was ordered with his four hundred soldiers, but he had hardly reached

the middle of the street along which he was to march, when so many squadrons of Mexican warriors fell on him and so many more were on the roofs [of the houses], and they made such fierce attacks that on the first assault they killed eight soldiers and wounded all the rest, and Diego de Ordás himself was wounded in three places, and in this manner he could not advance one step further but had to return little by little to his quarters. During the retreat they killed another good soldier named Lyscano who, with a broadsword, had done the work of a very valiant man.

At that moment, while many squadrons came out against Ordás, many more approached our quarters and shot off so many javelins, and stones from slings, and arrows, that they wounded on that occasion alone over forty-six of our men, and twelve of them died of their wounds; and such a number of warriors fell upon us that Diego de Ordás, who was coming in retreat, could not reach our quarters on account of the fierce assaults they made on him, some from the rear and others in front and others from the roofs.

Little availed our cannon, or our muskets, crossbows and lances, or the thrusts we gave them, or our good fighting, for although we killed and wounded many of them, yet they managed to reach us by pushing forward over the points of our swords and lances and closing up their squadrons never desisted from their brave attack, nor could we push them away from us.

At last, what with cannon and muskets and the damage we did them with our sword-thrusts, Ordás found an opportunity to enter our quarters, and not until then, much as he desired it, could he force a passage with his badly wounded soldiers, fourteen fewer in number. Still many of the squadrons never ceased from attacking us, and telling us that we were like women, and they called us

rogues and other abusive names. But the damage they had done us up to this time was as nothing to what they did afterwards, for such was their daring that, some attacking on one side and some on the other, they penetrated into our quarters and set fire to them, and we could not endure the smoke and the fire until it was remedied by flinging much earth over it, and cutting off other rooms whence the fire came. In truth, they believed that they would burn us alive in there. These conflicts lasted all day long, and even during the night so many squadrons of of them fell on us, and hurled javelins, stones and arrows in masses, and random stones so that what with those [that fell] during the day and those that then [fell] in all the courts and on the ground, it looked like chaff on a thrashing floor.

We passed the night in dressing wounds and in mending the breaches in the walls that they [the enemy] had made, and in getting ready for the next day. Then, as soon as it was dawn, our Captain decided that all of us and Narvaez' men should sally out to fight with them and that we should take the cannon and muskets and crossbows and endeavour to defeat them, or at least to make them feel our strength and valour better than the day before. I may state that when we came to this decision, the Mexicans were arranging the very same thing. We fought very well, but they were so strong, and had so many squadrons which relieved each other from time to time, that even if ten thousand Trojan Hectors and as many more Roldans had been there, they would not have been able to break through them.

So that it may now be understood, I will relate how it happened. We noted [their] tenacity in fighting, but I declare that I do not know how to describe it, for neither cannon nor muskets nor crossbows availed, nor hand-to-

time we charged, for they still fought on in as close ranks and with more energy than in the beginning. Sometimes when we were gaining a little ground or a part of the street, they pretended to retreat, but it was [merely] to induce us to follow them and cut us off from our fortress and quarters, so as to fall on us in greater safety to themselves, believing that we could not return to our quarters alive, for they did us much damage when we were retreating.

Then, as to going out to burn their houses, I have already said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that between one house and another, they have wooden drawbridges, and these they raised so that we could only pass through deep water. Then we could not endure the rocks and stones [hurled] from the roofs, in such a way that they damaged and wounded many of our men. I do not know why I write thus, so lukewarmly, for some three or four soldiers who were there with us and who had served in Italy, swore to God many times that they had never seen such fierce fights, not even when they had taken part in such between Christians, and against the artillery of the King of France, or of the Great Turk, nor had they seen men like those Indians with such courage in closing up their ranks.

However, as they said many other things and gave explanations of them, as will be seen further on, I will leave the matter here, and will relate how, with great difficulty we withdrew to our quarters, many squadrons of warriors still pressing on us with loud yells and whistles, and trumpets and drums, calling us villains and cowards who did not dare to meet them all day in battle, but turned in flight.

On that day they killed ten or twelve more soldiers and we all returned badly wounded. What took place during the night was the arrangement that in two days' time all

the soldiers in camp, as many as were able, should sally out with four engines like towers built of strong timber, in such a manner that five and twenty men could find shelter under each of them, and they were provided with apertures and loopholes through which to shoot, and musketeers and crossbowmen accompanied them, and close by them were to march the other soldiers, musketeers and crossbowmen and the guns, and all the rest, and the horsemen were to make charges.

When this plan was settled, as we spent all that day in carrying out the work and in strengthening many breaches that they had made in the walls, we did not go out to fight.

I do not know how to tell of the great squadrons of warriors who came to attack us in our quarters, not only in ten or twelve places, but in more than twenty, for we were distributed over them all and in many other places, and while we built up and fortified [ourselves], as I have related, many other squadrons openly endeavoured to penetrate into our quarters, and neither with guns, crossbows nor muskets, nor with many charges and sword-thrusts could we force them back, for they said that not one of us should remain [alive] that day and they would sacrifice our hearts and blood to their gods, and would have enough to glut [their appetites] and hold feasts on our arms and legs, and would throw our bodies to the tigers, lions, vipers and snakes, which they kept caged, so that they might gorge on them, and for that reason they had ordered them not to be given food for the past two days. As for the gold we possessed, we would get little satisfaction from it or from all the cloths; and as for the Tlaxcalans who were with us, they said that they would place them in cages to fatten, and little by little they would offer their bodies in sacrifice; and, very tenderly, they said that we should give up to them their great Lord Montezuma, and they said other

things. Night by night, in like manner, there were always many yells and whistles and showers of darts, stones and arrows.

As soon as dawn came, after commending ourselves to God, we sallied out from our quarters with our towers (and it seems to me that in other countries where I have been[1], in wars where such things were necessary, they were called "Buros" and "Mantas") with the cannon, muskets and crossbows in advance, and the horsemen making charges, but, as I have stated, although we killed many of them it availed nothing towards making them turn their backs, indeed if they had fought bravely on the two previous days, they proved themselves far more vigorous and displayed much greater forces and squadrons on this day. Nevertheless, we determined, although it should cost the lives of all of us, to push on with our towers and engines as far as the great Cue of Huichilobos.

I will not relate at length, the fights we had with them in a fortified house, nor will I tell how they wounded the horses, nor were they [the horses] of any use to us, because although they charged the squadrons to break through them, so many arrows, darts and stones were hurled at them, that they, well protected by armour though they were, could not prevail against them [the enemy], and if they pursued and overtook them, the Mexicans promptly dropped for safety into the canals and lagoons where they had raised other walls against the horsemen, and many other Indians were stationed with very long lances to finish killing them. Thus it benefited us nothing to turn aside to burn or demolish a house, it was quite useless, for, as I have said, they all stood in the water, and between house and house there was a movable bridge, and to cross

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[1] The text says "donde me he hallado en guerra," but Bernal Díaz had not been in any wars except wars in America.

by swimming was very dangerous, for on the roofs they had such store of rocks and stones and such defences, that it was certain destruction to risk it. In addition to this, where we did set fire to some houses, a single house took a whole day to burn, and the houses did not catch fire one from the other, as, for one reason, they stood apart with the water between; and, for the other, were provided with flat roofs (azoteas); thus it was useless toil to risk our persons in the attempt, so we went towards the great Cue of their Idols. Then, all of a sudden, more than four thousand Mexicans ascended it, not counting other Companies that were posted on it with long lances and stones and darts, and placed themselves on the defensive, and resisted our ascent for a good while, and neither the towers nor the cannon or crossbows, nor the muskets were of any avail, nor the horsemen, for, although they wished to charge [with] their horses, the whole of the courtyard was paved with very large flagstones, so that the horses lost their foothold, and they [the stones] were so slippery that they [the horses] fell. While from the steps of the lofty Cue they forbade our advance, we had so many enemies both on one side and the other that although our cannon [shots] carried off ten or fifteen of them and we slew many others by sword-thrusts and charges, so many men attacked us that we were not able to ascend the lofty Cue. However with great unanimity we persisted in the attack, and without taking the towers (for they were already destroyed) we made our way to the summit.

Here Cortés showed himself very much of a man, as he always was. Oh! what a fight and what a fierce battle it was that took place; it was a memorable thing to see us all streaming with blood, and covered with wounds and others slain. It pleased our Lord that we reached the place where we used to keep the image of Our Lady, and we did not find it, and it appears, as we came to know,

that the great Montezuma paid devotion to Her, and ordered it [the image] to be preserved in safety.

We set fire to their Idols and a good part of the chamber with the Idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca was burned. On that occasion the Tlaxcalans helped us very greatly. After this was accomplished, while some of us were fighting and others kindling the fire, as I have related, oh! to see the priests who were stationed on this great Cue, and the three or four thousand Indians, all men of importance. While we descended, oh! how they made us tumble down six or even ten steps at a time! And so much more there is to tell of the other squadrons posted on the battlements and recesses of the great Cue discharging so many darts and arrows that we could face neither one group of squadrons nor the other. We resolved to return, with much toil and risk to ourselves, to our quarters, our castles being destroyed, all of us wounded and sixteen slain, with the Indians constantly pressing on us and other squadrons on our flanks.

However clearly I may tell all this, I can never [fully] explain it to any one who did not see us. So far, I have not spoken of what the Mexican squadrons did who kept on attacking our quarters while we were marching outside, and the great obstinacy and tenacity they displayed in forcing their way in.

In this battle, we captured two of the chief priests, whom Cortés ordered us to convey with great care.

Many times I have seen among the Mexicans and Tlaxcalans, paintings of this battle, and the ascent that we made of the great Cue, as they look upon it as a very heroic deed. And although in the pictures that they have made of it, they depict all of us as badly wounded and streaming with blood and many of us dead they considered it a great feat, this setting fire to the Cue, when so many warriors were guarding it both on the battle-

ments and recesses, and many more Indians were below on the ground and the Courts were full of them and there were many more on the sides; and with our towers destroyed, how was it possible to scale it?

Let us stop talking about it and I will relate how with great labour we returned to our quarters and if many men were then following us, as many more were in our quarters, for they had already demolished some walls so as to gain an entry, but on our arrival they desisted. Nevertheless, during all the rest of the day they never ceased to discharge darts, stones and arrows, and during the night yells and stones and darts.

Let us leave the great obstinacy and persistency they were always without cessation displaying against our quarters, as I have related, and let me say how that night was passed in dressing wounds and in burying the dead, in preparations for going out to fight the following day, in strengthening and adding parapets to the walls they had pulled down, and to other breaches they had made, and in consulting how and in what way we could fight without suffering such great damage and death, and throughout the discussion we found no remedy at all.

Then I also wish to speak of the maledictions that the followers of Narvaez hurled at Cortés, and the words that they used, cursing him and the country and even Diego Velásquez who had sent them there when they were peacefully settled in their homes in the Island of Cuba, and they were crazy and out of their minds.

Let us go back to our story. It was decided to sue for peace so that we could leave Mexico, and as soon as it was dawn many more squadrons of Mexicans arrived and very effectually surrounded our quarters on all sides, and if they had discharged many stones and arrows before, they came much thicker and with louder howls and whistles on this day, and other squadrons endeavoured to force an entrance

in other parts, and cannon and muskets availed nothing, although we did them damage enough.

When Cortés saw all this, he decided that the great Montezuma should speak to them from the roof and tell them that the war must cease, and that we wished to leave his city. When they went to give this message from Cortés to the great Montezuma, it is reported that he said with great grief, "What more does Malinche want from me? I neither wish to live nor to listen to him, to such a pass has my fate brought me because of him." And he did not wish to come, and it is even reported that he said he neither wished to see nor hear him, nor listen to his false words, promises or lies. Then the Padre de la Merced and Cristóbal de Olid went and spoke to him with much reverence and in very affectionate terms, and Montezuma said, "I believe that I shall not obtain any result towards ending this war, for they have already raised up another Lord and have made up their minds not to let you leave this place alive, therefore I believe that all of you will have to die."

Let us return to the great attacks they made on us; Montezuma was placed by a battlement of the roof with many of us soldiers guarding him, and he began to speak to them [his people], with very affectionate expressions [telling them] to desist from the war, and that we would leave Mexico. Many of the Mexican Chieftains and Captains knew him well and at once ordered their people to be silent and not to discharge darts, stones or arrows, and four of them reached a spot where Montezuma could speak to them, and they to him, and with tears they said to him: "Oh! Señor, and our great Lord, how all your misfortune and injury and that of your children and relations afflicts us, we make known to you that we have already raised one of your kinsmen to be our Lord," and

there he stated his name, that he was called Cuitlahuac,[1] the Lord of Ixtapalapa, (for it was not Guatemoc, he who was Lord soon after,) and moreover they said that the war must be carried through, and that they had vowed to their Idols not to relax it until we were all dead, and that they prayed every day to their Huichilobos and Texcatepuca to guard him free and safe from our power, and that should it end as they desired, they would not fail to hold him in higher regard as their Lord than they did before, and they begged him to forgive them. They had hardly finished this speech when suddenly such a shower of stones and darts was discharged that (our men who were shielding him having neglected their duty [to shield him] for a moment, because they saw how the attack ceased while he spoke to them) he was hit by three stones, one on the head, another on the arm and another on the leg, and although they begged him to have the wounds dressed and to take food, and spoke kind words to him about it, he would not. Indeed, when we least expected it, they came to say that he was dead. Cortés wept for him, and all of us Captains and soldiers, and there was no man among us who knew him and was intimate with him, who did not bemoan him as though he were our father, and it is not to be wondered at, considering how good he was. It was stated that he had reigned for seventeen years and that he was the best king there had ever been in Mexico, and that he had conquered in person, in three wars which he had carried on in the countries he had subjugated. Let us continue.

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

When Montezuma was dead Cortés decided to tell the news to his Captains and chieftains who were making war on us, and what else took place about it.

I HAVE already told about the sorrow that we all of us felt about it when we saw that Montezuma was dead. We even thought badly of the Fraile de la Merced because he had not persuaded him to become a Christian, and he gave as an excuse that he did not think that he would die of those wounds, but that he ought to have ordered them to give him something to stupefy him. At the end of much discussion Cortés ordered a priest and a chief from among the prisoners to go and tell the Cacique whom they had chosen for Lord, who was named Cuitlahuac[1], and his Captains, that the great Montezuma was dead, and they had seen him die, and about the manner of his death and the wounds his own people had inflicted on him, and they should say how grieved we all were about it, and that they should bury him as the great king that he was, and they should raise the cousin of Montezuma who was with us, to be king, for the inheritance was his, or one of his (Montezuma's) other sons, and that he whom they had raised to be king was not so by right, and they should negotiate a peace so that we could leave Mexico; and if they did not do so, now that Montezuma was dead, whom we held in respect and for that reason had not destroyed their city, we should sally out to make war on them and burn all their houses and do them much damage. So as to convince them that Montezuma was dead, he ordered six Mexicans who were high chieftains, and the priests whom we held as prisoners, to carry him out

[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

on their shoulders and to hand him [the body] over to the Mexican Captains, and to tell them what Montezuma had commanded at the time of his death, for those who carried him out on their backs were present at his death; and they told Cuitlahuac the whole truth, how his own people killed him with blows from three stones.

When they beheld him thus dead, we saw that they were in floods of tears and we clearly heard the shrieks and cries of distress that they gave for him, but for all this, the fierce assault they made on us with darts, stones and arrows never ceased, and then they came on us again with greater force and fury, and said to us: "Now for certain you will pay for the death of our King and Lord, and the dishonour to our Idols; and as for the peace you sent to beg for, come out here and we will settle how and in what way it is to be made," and they said many things about this and other matters that I cannot now remember and I will leave them unreported, and [they said] that they had already chosen a good king, and he would not be so faint-hearted as to be deceived with false speeches like their good Montezuma, and as for the burial, we need not trouble about that, but about our own lives, for in two days there would not be one of us left;—so much for the messages we had sent them. With these words [they fell on us] with loud yells and whistles and showers of stones, darts and arrows, while other squadrons were still attempting to set fire to our quarters in many places.

When Cortés and all of us observed this, we agreed that next day we would all of us sally out from our camp and attack in another direction, where there were many houses on dry land, and we would do all the damage we were able and go towards the causeway, and that all the horse-men should break through the squadrons and spear them with their lances or drive them into the water, even though they [the enemy] should kill the horses. This was decided

on in order to find out if by chance, with the damage and slaughter that we should inflict on them, they would abandon their attack and arrange some sort of peace, so that we could go free without more deaths and damage. Although the next day we all bore ourselves very manfully and killed many of the enemy and burned a matter of twenty houses and almost reached dry land, it was all of no use, because of the great damage and deaths and wounds they inflicted on us, and we could not hold a single bridge, for they were all of them half broken down. Many Mexicans charged down on us, and they had set up walls and barricades in places which they thought could be reached by the horses, so that if we had met with many difficulties up to this time, we found much greater ones ahead of us.

Let us leave it here, and go back to say that we determined to get out of Mexico.

It was on a Thursday that we made this expedition and sally with the horsemen, and I remember that Sandoval was there, and Lares the good horseman and Gonzalo Domínguez, Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Morla and other good horsemen from among our company, and from the company of Narvaez other good horsemen went, but they were frightented and timid as they had never been in wars against the Indians.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

How we determined to flee from Mexico and what was done about it.

NOW we saw our forces diminishing every day and those of the Mexicans increasing, and many of our men were dead and all the rest wounded, and although we fought like brave men we could not drive back nor even get free

from the many squadrons which attacked us both by day and night, and the powder was giving out, and the same was happening with the food and water, and the great Montezuma being dead, they were unwilling to grant the peace and truce which we had sent to demand of them. In fact we were staring death in the face, and the bridges had been raised. It was [therefore] decided by Cortés and all of us captains and soldiers that we should set out during the night, when we could see that the squadrons of warriors were most off their guard. In order to put them all the more off their guard, that very afternoon we sent to tell them, through one of their priests whom we held prisoner and who was a man of great importance among them and through some other prisoners, that they should let us go in peace within eight days and we would give up to them all the gold; and this [was done] to put them off their guard so that we might get out that night.

In addition to this, there was with us a soldier named Botello, apparently an honest man and a Latin scholar, who had been in Rome, and it was said that he was a magician; others said that he had a familiar spirit, and some called him an Astrologer. This Botello had said four days before, that he found out by his casting of lots or Astrology, that if on that following night we did not leave Mexico, and if we waited there any longer, not one of us would get out alive; and he had even said on other occasions that Cortés would have to suffer many hardships and would be deprived of his position and honour, and would afterwards become a great and magnificent Lord, with great property, and he said many other things. Let us leave Botello, whom I will speak about again later on, and I will relate how the order was given to make a bridge of very strong beams and planks, so that we could carry it with us and place it where the bridges were broken. Four hundred Tlaxcalan Indians and one hundred and fifty

soldiers were told off to carry this bridge and place it in position and guard the passage until the army and all the baggage had crossed. Two hundred Tlaxcalan Indians and fifty soldiers were told off to carry the cannon, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, Diego de Ordás, Francisco de Sauzedo, Francisco de Lugo and a company of one hundred young and active soldiers were selected to go in the van to do the fighting. It was agreed that Cortés himself, Alonzo de Ávila, Cristóbal de Olid, and other Captains should go in the middle and support the party that most needed help in fighting. Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon were with the rearguard, and placed in the middle between them [and the preceding section] were two captains and the soldiers of Narvaez, and three hundred Tlaxcalans, and thirty soldiers were told off to take charge of the prisoners and of Doña Marina and Doña Luisa ; by the time this arrangement was made, it was already night.

In order to bring out the gold and divide it up and carry it, Cortés ordered his steward named Cristóbal de Guzman and other soldiers who were his servants to bring out all the gold and jewels and silver, and he gave them many Tlaxcalan Indians for the purpose, and they placed it in the Hall. Then Cortés told the King's officers named Alonzo Dávila and Gonzalo Mejía to take charge of the gold belonging to His Majesty, and he gave them seven wounded and lame horses and one mare, and many friendly Tlaxcalans, more than eighty in number, and they loaded them with parcels of it, as much as they could carry, for it was put up into very broad ingots, as I have already said in the chapter that treats of it, and much gold still remained in the Hall piled up in heaps. Then Cortés called his secretary and the others who were King's Notaries, and said : " Bear witness for me that I can do no more with this gold. We have here in this apartment and Hall over seven hundred thousand pesos in gold, and, as

you have seen, it cannot be weighed nor placed in safety. I now give it up to any of the soldiers who care to take it, otherwise it will be lost among these dogs [of Mexicans]."

When they heard this, many of the soldiers of Narvaez and some of our people loaded themselves with it. I declare that I had no other desire but the desire to save my life, but I did not fail to carry off from some small boxes that were there, four chalchihuites, which are stones very highly prized among the Indians, and I quickly placed them in my bosom under my armour, and, later on, the price of them served me well in healing my wounds and getting me food.

After we had learnt the plans that Cortés had made about the way in which we were to escape that night and get to the bridges, as it was somewhat dark and cloudy and rainy, we began before midnight to bring along the bridge and the baggage, and the horses and mare began their march, and the Tlaxcalans who were laden with the gold. Then the bridge was quickly put in place, and Cortés and the others whom he took with him in the first [detachment], and many of the horsemen, crossed over it. While this was happening, the voices, trumpets, cries and whistles of the Mexicans began to sound and they called out in their language to the people of Tlaltelolco, "Come out at once with your canoes for the Teules are leaving; cut them off so that not one of them may be left alive." When I least expected it, we saw so many squadrons of warriors bearing down on us, and the lake so crowded with canoes that we could not defend ourselves. Many of our soldiers had already crossed [the bridge] and while we were in this position, a great multitude of Mexicans charged down on us [with the intention of] removing the bridge and wounding and killing our men who were unable to assist each other; and as misfortune is perverse at such times,

one mischance followed another, and as it was raining, two of the horses slipped and fell into the lake. When I and others of Cortés' Company saw that, we got safely to the other side of the bridge, and so many warriors charged on us, that despite all our good fighting, no further use could be made of the bridge, so that the passage or water opening was soon filled up with dead horses, Indian men and women, servants, baggage and boxes.

Fearing that they would not fail to kill us, we thrust ourselves ahead along the causeway, and we met many squadrons armed with long lances waiting for us, and they used abusive words to us, and among them they cried "Oh! villains, are you still alive?" and with the cuts and thrusts we gave them, we got through, although they then wounded six of those who were going along [with me]. Then if there was some sort of plan such as we had agreed upon it was an accursed one; for Cortés and the captains and soldiers who passed first on horseback, so as to save themselves and reach dry land and make sure of their lives, spurred on along the causeway, and they did not fail to attain their object, and the horses with the gold and the Tlaxcalans also got out in safety. I assert that if we had waited, (the horsemen and the soldiers, one for the other,) at the bridges, we should all have been put an end to, and not one of us would have been left alive; the reason was this, that as we went along the causeway, charging the Mexican squadrons, on one side of us was water and on the other azoteas,[1] and the lake was full of canoes so that we could do nothing. Moreover the muskets and crossbows were all left behind at the bridge, and as it was night time, what could we do beyond what we accomplished? which was to charge and give some sword-thrusts to those who tried to lay

[1] The flat roofs of the houses.

hands on us, and to march and get on ahead so as to get off the causeway.

Had it been in the day-time, it would have been far worse, and we who escaped did so only by the Grace of God. To one who saw the hosts of warriors who fell on us that night and the canoes [full] of them coming along to carry off our soldiers, it was terrifying. So we went ahead along the causeway in order to get to the town of Tacuba where Cortés was already stationed with all the Captains. Gonzalo de Sandoval, Cristóbal de Olid and others of those horsemen who had gone on ahead were crying out: "Señor Capitan, let us halt, for they say that we are fleeing and leaving them to die at the bridges; let us go back and help them, if any of them survive"; but not one of them came out or escaped. Cortés' reply was that it was a miracle that any of us escaped. However, he promptly went back with the horsemen and the soldiers who were unwounded, but they did not march far, for Pedro de Alvarado soon met them, badly wounded, holding a spear in his hand, and on foot, for they [the enemy] had already killed his sorrel mare, and he brought with him four soldiers as badly wounded as he was himself, and eight Tlaxcalans, all of them with blood flowing from many wounds.

While Cortés was on the causeway with the rest of the captains, we repaired to the courtyard in Tacuba. Many squadrons had already arrived from Mexico, shouting out orders to Tacuba and to the other town named Azcapotzalco, and they began to hurl darts, stones and arrows [and attack] with their long lances. We made some charges and both attacked [them] and defended ourselves.

Let us go back to Pedro de Alvarado. When Cortés and the other Captains met him in that way, and saw that no more soldiers were coming [along the causeway,] tears sprang to his eyes. Pedro de Alvarado said that Juan Velásquez de Leon lay dead with many other gentlemen

To face p. 246.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay

THE TREE OF THE NOCHE TRISTE AT POPOTLA

Tradition says that Cortes rested under this tree and watched the remnant of his followers pass by after their escape from the causeway

both of our own company and that of Narvaez, and that more than eighty of them were at the bridge; that he and the four soldiers whom he brought with him, after their horses had been killed, crossed the bridge in great peril, over the dead bodies, horses and boxes with which that passage at the bridge was [choked]. Moreover he said that all the bridges and causeways were crowded with warriors. At the bridge of sorrow, which they afterwards called "Alvarados' leap," I assert that at the time not a single soldier stopped to see if he leaped much or little, for we could hardly save our own lives, as we were in great danger of death on account of the multitude of Mexicans charging down on us. All that Gomara says on this matter is nonsense, for as to his wishing to leap and hold himself up with his lance, the water was very deep and he could not have touched the ground with it, and, in addition to this, the bridge and the opening was very wide and high. He would not have been able to save himself had he been ever so much more active, neither on his lance nor in any other way (and one can clearly see that now), for the water was so deep at that time, and the walls were so high where the beams of the bridge were [placed] and the opening was so wide. I never heard of this leap of Alvarado until after Mexico was captured, and it was in some satirical verses[1] made by a certain Gonzalo de Ocampo, which, as they were somewhat nasty, I will not fully quote here, except that he says, "Thou shouldst remember the leap that thou tookest from the bridge"; but I will not dwell on this subject.

Let us go on and I will relate how, when we were waiting in Tabuca, many Mexican warriors came together from all those towns and they killed three of our soldiers, so we agreed to get out of that town as quickly as we

[1] Nibelos in the text, probably for *libelos*.

could, and five Tlaxcalan Indians, who found out a way towards Tlaxcala without following the [main] road, guided us with great precaution until we reached some small houses placed on a hill, and near to them a Cue or Oratory [built] like a fort, where we halted.

I wish to go back to state that as we marched along we were followed by the Mexicans who hurled arrows and darts at us and stones from their slings, and the way in which they surrounded us and continually attacked us, was terrifying, as I have already said many times and am tired of repeating it, but my readers must not consider me prolix, because every time or at every short interval that they pressed on us and wounded us and attacked us fiercely, I feel bound to turn aside and speak of the squadrons which followed us and killed many of us.

Let us give up calling so much to mind, and relate how we defended ourselves in that Cue and fortress, where we lodged and attended to the wounded and made many fires, but as for anything to eat, there was no thought of it. At that Cue or Oratory, after the great city of Mexico was captured, we built a church, which is called "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios," and is very much visited, and many of the inhabitants and ladies from Mexico now go there on pilgrimages and to hold *novenas*.[1]

Let us leave this and say that it was pitiable to see our wounds being dressed and bound up with cotton cloths, and as they were chilled and swollen they were [very] painful. However what was more to be wept over was [the loss of] the gentlemen and brave soldiers who were missing, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Sauzedo, Francisco de Morla, Lares the good horseman and many others of us followers of Cortés. I name these few only because it would be a long

[1] *Novenas:* religious exercises extending over nine days.

To face p. 248.

THE CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS REMEDIOS.

Photo by C. E. Waite.

Built on the site of the Teocalli where the Spaniards halted after the Noche Trieste.

business to write the names of the great number of our companions who were missing. Of the followers of Narvaez, the greater number were left at the bridges weighed down with gold.

I will speak now of Botello the Astrologer: his astrology availed him nothing, for he too died there with his horse, and I will go on to say that after we got into safety, there were found in the box of this Botello some papers like a book, with symbols, lines, remarks and signs, and it was said in them: "Am I to die here in this sad war in the power of these dogs of Indians?" and it said among other lines and symbols further on, "Thou wilt not die"; and it went on to say in other symbols, lines, and remarks, "Shall I die?" and the other line replied, "Thou shalt not die." It said in another place, "Will they also kill my horse?" and it said further on, "Yes, they will kill it." In a similar manner these papers, which were like a small book, contained further ciphered [notes] like fortune telling, one sentence answering the other. There was also found in the box a thing like the genitals of a man, half a span long, made of leather, in appearance neither more nor less than a man's genitals, and it had inside some flock wool from a shearer.

Let us go on to say how there were left dead at the bridges the sons and daughters of Montezuma as well the prisoners we were bringing with us, also Cacamatzin the Lord of Texcoco and other kings of provinces. Let us stop relating all these hardships and say how we were thinking of what we had in front of us, for we were all wounded, and only twenty-three horses escaped; then of the cannon and artillery and powder, we saved nothing; the crossbows were few in number and we promptly mended their cords and made arrows, but the worst of all was that we did not know what we should find the

us. In addition to this, always surrounded by Mexicans who fell on us with yells, darts and arrows and slings, we determined to get out of that place at midnight with the Tlaxcalans in front as guides, taking every precaution. We marched with the wounded in the middle and the lame [supported] with staffs, and some, who were very bad and could not walk, on the croups of the horses that were lame and were not fit for fighting. Those horsemen who were not wounded went in front or were divided some on one side, some on the other, and [marching] in this manner all of us who were most free from wounds kept our faces towards the enemy. The wounded Tlaxcalans went in the body of our squadron and the rest of them who were [sufficiently] sound faced [the enemy] in company with us. The Mexicans were always harassing us with loud cries, yells and whistles, shouting out, "You are going where not one of you will be left alive," and we did not understand why they said so, but it will be seen later on. But I have forgotten to write down how happy we were to see Doña Marina still alive, and Doña Luisa the daughter of Xicotenga, whose escape at the bridges was due to some Tlaxcalans, and also a woman named Maria de Estrada, who was the only Spanish woman in Mexico. Those who escaped and got away first from the bridges were some sons of Xicotenga, the brothers of Doña Luisa. Most of our servants who had been given to us in Tlaxcala and in the city of Mexico itself were left behind dead.

Let me go on to say how on that day we reached some farms and huts belonging to a large town named Cuautitlan,[1] a town that after the capture of Mexico belonged to Alonso de Ávila, and although they yelled and shouted at us and hurled stones, darts and arrows, we bore up against it all. Thence we went through some farms and hamlets with the Mexicans always in pursuit of us, and as many of them

[1] Gualtitan in the text.

had got together, they endeavoured to kill us and began to surround us, and hurled many stones with their slings and javelins and arrows, and with their broadswords they killed two of our soldiers in a bad pass, and they also killed a horse and wounded many of our men, and we also with cut and thrust killed some of them, and the horsemen did the same. We slept in those houses and we ate the horse they had killed, and the next day very early in the morning we began our march, with the same and even greater precautions than we observed before, half of the horsemen always going ahead. On a plain a little more than a league further on, (when we began to think that we could march in safety,) our scouts, who were on the look out, returned to say that the fields were full of Mexican warriors waiting for us. When we heard this we were indeed alarmed but not so as to be faint-hearted or to fail to meet them and fight to the death. There we halted for a short time and orders were given how the horsemen were to charge and return at a hand gallop, and were not to stop to spear [the enemy] but to keep their lances aimed at their faces until they broke up their squadrons; and that all the soldiers, in the thrusts they gave, should pass [their swords] through the bodies [of their opponents], and that we should act in such a way as to avenge thoroughly the deaths and wounds of our companions, so that if God willed it we should escape with our lives.

After commending ourselves to God and the Holy Mary, full of courage, and calling on the name of Señor Santiago, as soon as we saw that the enemy began to surround us, and that the horsemen, keeping in parties of five, broke through their ranks, we all of us [charged] at the same time.

Oh! what a sight it was to see this fearful and destructive battle, how we moved all mixed up with them foot to foot, and the cuts and thrusts we gave them, and with what fury the dogs fought, and what wounds and

deaths they inflicted on us with their lances and macanas and two-handed swords. Then, as the ground was level [to see] how the horsemen speared them as they chose, charging and returning, and although both they and their horses were wounded, they never stopped fighting like very brave men. As for all of us who had no horses, it seemed as if we all put on double strength, for although we were wounded and again received other wounds, we did not trouble to bind them up so as not to halt to do so, for there was not time, but with great spirit we closed with the enemy so as to give them sword thrusts. I wish to tell about Cortés and Cristóbal de Olid, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Gonzalo Domínguez and a Juan de Salamanca who although badly wounded rode on one side and the other, breaking through the squadrons ; and about the words that Cortés said to those who were in the thick of the enemy, that the cuts and thrusts that we gave should be [aimed at] distinguished chieftains, for they all of them bore great golden plumes and rich arms and devices. Then to see how the valiant and spirited Sandoval encouraged us and cried : "Now, gentlemen, this is the day when we are bound to be victorious ; have trust in God and we shall come out of this alive for some good purpose." I must diverge to say that they killed and wounded a great number of our soldiers, but let us leave that and return to Cortés and Cristóbal de Olid and Sandoval and Gonzalo Domínguez and the other horsemen whom I do not name here, and Juan de Salamanca. All of us soldiers greatly inspirited Cortés to fight, and our Lord Jesus Christ and Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria encouraged us, and the Señor Santiago certainly aided us. It pleased God that Cortés and the Captains whom I have already named who went in his Company reached the place where the Captain General of the Mexicans was marching with his banner displayed, and with rich golden

armour and great gold and silver plumes. When Cortés saw him with many other Mexican Chieftains all wearing great plumes, he said to Gonzalo de Sandoval and Cristóbal de Olid and Gonzalo Domínguez and the other Captains: "Now, Señores, let us break through them and leave none of them unwounded"; and commending themselves to God, Cortés, Cristóbal de Olid, Sandoval, Alonzo de Ávila, and the other horsemen charged, and Cortés struck his horse against the Mexican Captain, which made him drop his banner, and the rest of our Captains succeeded in breaking through the squadron which consisted of many Indians following the Captain who carried the banner, who nevertheless had not fallen at the shock that Cortés had given him, and it was Juan de Salamanca, who rode with Cortés on a good piebald mare, who gave him a lance thrust and took from him the rich plume that he wore, and afterwards gave it to Cortés, saying, that as it was he who first met him and made him lower his banner and deprived his followers of the courage to fight, that the plume belonged to him (Cortés). However, three years afterwards, the King gave it to Salamanca as his coat of arms, and his descendants bear it on their tabards.

Let us go back to the battle. It pleased Our Lord that when that Captain who carried the Mexican banner was dead, (and many others were killed there,) their attack slackened, and all the horsemen followed them and we felt neither hunger nor thirst, and it seemed as though we had neither suffered nor passed through any evil or hardship, as we followed up our victory killing and wounding. Then our friends the Tlaxcalans were very lions, and with their swords and broadswords which they there captured [from the enemy] behaved very well and valiantly.[1] When the horsemen returned from following up the victory we all

[1] Blotted out in the original: "Maravillas" (did wonders).—G.G.

gave many thanks to God for having escaped from such a great multitude of people, for there had never been seen or found throughout the Indies such a great number of warriors together in any battle that was fought, for there was present there the flower of Mexico and Texcoco and all the towns around the lake, and others in the neighbourhood, and the people of Otumba and Tepetexcoco and Saltocan, who all came in the belief that this time not a trace of us would be left. Then what rich armour they wore, with so much gold and plumes and devices, and nearly all of them were captains and chieftains. Near the spot where this hard-fought and celebrated battle took place, and where one can say God spared our lives, there stands a town named Otumba. The Mexicans and Tlaxcalans have this battle very well painted and portrayed in carvings, as well as the many other battles that we fought with the Mexicans up to the time when we captured Mexico.

Interested readers who read this will notice that I wish here to call to mind, that when we went to the assistance of Pedro de Alvarado in Mexico, we numbered in all more than thirteen hundred soldiers, counting the horsemen who numbered ninety-seven, and eighty crossbowmen and as many more musketeers, and there were more than two thousand Tlaxcalans, and we brought in with us many cannon, and our entry into Mexico was on the day of Señor San Juan de Junio[1] in the year fifteen hundred and twenty, and our escape was on the tenth of the month of July of the same year, and this celebrated battle of Otumba on the fourteenth of the month of July.

Let me say, now that we have already escaped from our perils which I have already described, that I wish to give another account of how many of us they killed both in

[1] Midsummer Day, 24th June.

Mexico as well as on the bridges and causeways, and all the encounters including this one at Otumba, and those who were killed on the road. I assert that within a matter of five days over eight hundred and sixty soldiers were killed and sacrificed, as well as seventy-two who were killed in a town named Tustepec, together with five Spanish women (those who were killed at Tustepec belonged to the company of Narvaez), and over a thousand[1] Tlaxcalans were slain. I also wish to state how at that time they killed Juan de Alcántara the elder, with three other settlers from Villa Rica who had come [to Tlaxcala] for the share of the gold which fell to their lot, about which I have made a statement in the chapter that treats of the subject, so they lost the gold as well as their lives; and if we come to consider it, we all of us usually had bad luck about the share of gold that was given to us. If many more of the followers of Narvaez than those of Cortés died at the bridges, it was because they went forth laden with gold, and owing to its weight they could neither escape nor swim.

Let us stop talking about these matters and how we already went along very cheerfully, eating some gourds that they call *Ayotes*, and we marched along, eating as we went, towards Tlaxcala. The Mexican squadrons did not dare to assemble and sally out from the small towns, although they still shouted at us in places where we could not master them, and hurled many stones at us from slings and javelins and arrows, until we went to some other farms and a small town where there was a good Cue and strong house where we defended ourselves that night and dressed our wounds and got some rest. Although squadrons of Mexicans still followed us they did not dare to come up to us, and those who did come were as though they said "There you go out of our country."

[1] Blotted out in the original: "and five hundred."—G. G.

From that small town and house where we slept, the hills over against Tlaxcala could be seen, and when we saw them we were as delighted as though they had been our own homes. But how could we know for certain that they were loyal to us or what their disposition was, or what had happened to those who were settled at Villa Rica, whether they were alive or dead? Cortés said to us, that although we were few in number, and there were only four hundred and forty of us left with twenty horses and twelve cross-bowmen and seven musketeers, and we had no powder and were all wounded, lame and maimed, we could see very clearly how our Lord Jesus Christ had been pleased to spare our lives, and for that we should always give Him great thanks and honour. Moreover, we had come again to be reduced to the number and strength of the soldiers who accompanied him the first time we entered Mexico, [namely] four hundred soldiers. He begged us not to give annoyance to the people in Tlaxcala, and not to take anything from them, and this he explained to the followers of Narvaez, for they were not used to obey their Captains in the wars as we were. Moreover, he said he trusted in God that we should find them [the Tlaxcalans] true and very loyal, and that if it were otherwise, which God forfend, we must turn aside the blows [of fate?] with stout hearts and strong arms, and for this we must be well prepared.

With our scouts ahead of us, we reached a spring on the hillside where there were some walls and defences [made in] past times, and our friends the Tlaxcalans said that this was the boundary between them and the Mexicans, and, in welcome tranquillity after the misery we had gone through, we halted to wash and to eat. Then we soon resumed our march and went to a Tlaxcalan town named Hueyotlipan[1] where they received us and gave us to eat,

[1] Guaolipar in the text.

but not much, unless we paid them with some small pieces of gold and chalchihuites which some of us carried with us; they gave us nothing without payment. There we remained one day resting and curing our wounds and we also attended to the horses. Then as soon as they heard the news at the Capital of Tlaxcala, Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder, and Chichimecatecle and many other Caciques and Chieftains and nearly all the inhabitants of Huexotzingo promptly came to us. When they reached the town where we were [camped] they came to embrace Cortés and all of us captains and soldiers, some of them weeping, especially Mase Escasi, Xicotenga, and Chichimecatecle, and Tapaneca, and they said to Cortés: "Oh! Malinche, Malinche! How grieved we are at your misfortunes and those of all your brothers, and at the number of our own people who have been killed with yours. We have told you so many times not to put trust in the Mexican people, for one day or the other they were sure to attack you, but you would not believe us. Now it has come to pass, and no more can be done at present than to tend you and give you to eat; rest yourselves for you are at home, and we will soon go to our town where we will find you quarters. Do not think, Malinche, that it is a small thing you have done to escape with your lives from that impregnable city and its bridges, and I tell you that if we formerly looked upon you as very brave, we now think you much more valiant; and although many Indian women in our towns will bewail the deaths of their sons, husbands, brothers and kinsmen, do not trouble yourself about that. Much do you owe to your Gods who have brought you here and delivered you from such a multitude of warriors who were awaiting you at Otumba. For four days I had known that they were waiting for you to slay you. I wanted to go in search of you with thirty thousand of our own warriors, but I could not start

because they were not assembled and men were out collecting them."

Cortés and all our Captains and soldiers embraced them and told them that we thanked them, and Cortés gave to all the chieftains golden jewels and [precious] stones, and as every soldier had escaped with as much as he could [carry] some of us gave [presents] to our acquaintances from what we possessed. Then what rejoicing and happiness they showed when they saw that Doña Luisa and Doña Marina were saved, and what weeping and sorrow for the other Indians who did not come but were left behind dead. Especially did Mase Escasi weep for his daughter Doña Elvira and the death of Juan Velásquez de Leon to whom he had given her.

In this way we went to the Capital of Tlaxcala with all the Caciques, and Cortés lodged in the houses of Mase Escasi, and Xicotenga gave his quarters to Pedro de Alvarado, and there we tended our wounds and began to recover our strength, but, nevertheless, four soldiers died of their wounds and some other soldiers failed to recover.

I will leave off here, and relate what else happened to us.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

How we went to the Capital and largest town in Tlaxcala, and what happened to us there.

We stayed one day in the small town of Hueyotlipan and the Caciques of Tlaxcala whom I have named made us those overtures which are worthy of remembrance and of reward as they were made at such a critical time; and after we had gone to the Capital town of Tlaxcala, and they had assigned us quarters as I have said, it seems that Cortés asked for the gold which had been sent there,

which amounted to forty thousand dollars, which gold was the share of the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder and one of our soldiers who had remained ill in Tlaxcala and had not been in the affair at Mexico when we were defeated, said that Juan de Alcántara and two other settlers had come from Villa Rica and had carried off all the gold, for they brought letters from Cortés to say that it was to be given to them, and this letter the soldier had produced and left in the possession of Mase Escasi when the gold was given to him. When they were asked how and at what time the gold was taken, and when it was understood from a count of days that it was at the time when the Mexicans were fighting us, we at once realised that they must have killed the Spaniards on the road and have seized their gold. And Cortés was very much troubled about it[1] We were also uneasy at not knowing about the people at Villa Rica, lest some disaster had happened to them, so Cortés at once wrote to them and sent the letter by three Tlaxcalans, and told them about the great dangers to which we had been exposed in Mexico, and how and in what way we had escaped with our lives, but he did not tell them how many of us were missing, and he admonished them always to be on the alert and to keep a good look out, and [said] that if there were any soldiers among them sound in health, they should be sent to him, and that they should keep a good guard over Narvaez, and [he asked them] whether they had any powder or crossbows, because he wished to return and scour the neighbourhood of Mexico. He also wrote to the officer named Caballero whom he had left there as Captain of the Sea, that he should keep watch that neither Narvaez nor any of the ships should leave for

[1] Blotted out in the original: "because he intended to send to the Island of Jamaica for horses and powder and crossbows."—G. G.

Cuba, and if he considered the two ships belonging to Narvaez which were in the harbour to be unfit for sea that he should destroy them and send their crews to him with all the arms they possessed.

The messengers went and returned post haste, and brought letters to say that there had been no warfare, and that as neither Juan Alcántara nor the other two settlers whom they had sent for the gold had returned, they must have been killed on the road, that they knew all about the war the Mexicans had made on us, for the fat Cacique of Cempoala had told them about it. The Admiral of the sea named Caballero also wrote and said he would do what Cortés ordered him, that one of the ships was in good condition and he would destroy the other, and would send the men, but there were very few sailors, for they had sickened and died; that he was writing his reply to the letter at once, and would soon despatch the succour they were sending from Villa Rica, numbering seven in all, including four sailors who came from the town. Their Captain was a soldier named Lencero (who owned the Inn which is now called Lencero's), and when they arrived at Tlaxcala, as they arrived thin and ill, we often for our own diversion and to make fun of them spoke of "Lencero's Help," for of the seven that came five had liver complaint and were covered with boils and the other two were swelled out with great bellies.

Let us leave the jokes and I will tell what happened to us there in Tlaxcala with Xicotenga the younger and his ill will,—he who had been Captain of all Tlaxcala when they were fighting us, often mentioned by me in the chapter that treats of that subject. The truth is that when it became known in that City that we were fleeing from Mexico, and that the Mexicans had killed a great number of soldiers, both our own men and the Tlaxcalan Indians who had left Tlaxcala in our company, and that we were

coming for aid and shelter to that province, Xicotenga the younger went about appealing to all his friends and relations and to others who he thought were on his side, and said to them that on the night or day when they might be best prepared for it they should kill us and make friends with the Lord of Mexico, who by that time had been elected King, who was named Cuitlahuac,[1] and that in addition to this they should rob us of the cloaks and cloth which we had left in Tlaxcala to be taken care of, and the gold that we were now bringing from Mexico, and they would all become rich with the spoil.

This came to the ears of the elder Xicotenga, his father, who quarrelled with him and told him that no such thought should have entered his head, that it was disgraceful, and that if Mase Escasi and Chichimecatecle and the other lords of Tlaxcala should come to hear of it they would possibly slay him and those who were in league with him; but much as his father rebuked him he paid no heed nor did it stop him from talking about and working at his evil purpose. This reached the ears of Chichimecatecle, who was the mortal enemy of Xicotenga the younger, and he told it to Mase Escasi and they determined to enter into consultation and agreement about it, and they called together Xicotenga the elder and the chiefs of Huexotzingo, and ordered Xicotenga the younger to be brought prisoner before them. Then Mase Escasi made a speech to them all and asked if they could remember or had heard it said that during the last hundred years there had ever been throughout Tlaxcala such prosperity and riches as there had been since the Teules had arrived in their country, or if in any of their provinces they had ever been so well provided for. For they possessed much cotton cloth and gold and they ate salt, and that wherever the

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[1] Coadlavaca in the text.

Tlaxcalans went with the Teules, honour was paid to them out of respect to the Teules, and although many of them had now been killed in Mexico, they should bear in mind what their ancestors had said to them many years ago, that from where the sun rises there would come men who would rule over them. Why then was Xicotenga now going about with these treasons and infamies, scheming to make war on us and kill us? It was evilly done, and there was no excuse to be made for the knavery and mischief which he always had hidden in his breast, and now at the very moment when he saw us coming back defeated, when he ought to help us to recover ourselves, so as to turn again upon his enemies the towns of Mexico, he wished to carry out this treachery.

To these words that Mase Escasi and his father Xicotenga the elder said to him, Xicotenga the younger replied, that what he had said about making peace with the Mexicans was a very wise decision, and he said other things that they could not tolerate. Then Mase Escasi and Chichimecatecle and the old man, his father, blind as he was, arose and took Xicotenga the younger by the collar and by his mantle and tore it and roughly pushing him and with reproachful words they cast him down the steps, with his mantle all torn, and had it not been for his father they would have slain him. The others who had been in his confidence were made prisoners. As we were all taking refuge there, and it was not the time to punish him, Cortés said nothing more about it.

I have called this to mind so that it may be seen how loyal and good were these people of Tlaxcala, and how much we are indebted to them, and especially to the good Xicotenga the elder, who is said to have ordered his son to be killed when he knew of his plots and treason.

Let us leave this, and I will relate how we remained twenty-two days in that town curing our wounds and

recovering. Then Cortés determined that we should go to the province of Tepeaca which was near by, for there and in another town close to Tepeaca named Cachula they had slain many of our soldiers and those of Narvaez who had come to Mexico. When Cortés told this to our Captains, and they were preparing the soldiers of Narvaez to go to the war, for these men were not accustomed to fighting, and having escaped from the defeat at Mexico and at the bridges, and from the battle of Otumba, could hardly await the time for returning to the Island of Cuba, to their Indians, and their gold mines, they cursed Cortés and his conquests. Especially was this the case with Andrés de Duero, the partner of Cortés, for interested readers will have already understood, as I have twice described it in former chapters, how and in what way the partnership was formed. They cursed the gold which he [Cortés] had given to Duero and to the other Captains, all of which had been lost at the bridges, and as they had seen the fierce attacks the enemy made on us, they were very well content to have escaped with their lives. So they agreed to tell Cortés that they did not want to go to Tepeaca nor to any fighting, but wished to go back to their homes, and that they had already lost enough by leaving Cuba. Cortés talked the matter over with them very quietly and kindly, thinking to persuade them to go with us on the expedition to Tepeaca, but for all his speeches and reproaches they would not go. When they saw that words had no effect on Cortés, they drew up a formal requisition before a King's Notary demanding that he should go at once to Villa Rica and abandon the war, giving as a reason that we had neither horses nor muskets, crossbows nor powder, nor thread with which to make [crossbow] strings, nor stores, that we were all wounded, and out of all our company and the soldiers of Narvaez there only survived four hundred and forty, and that the Mexicans would hold

the strongholds, sierras and passes against us, and that if we delayed any longer the ships would be eaten by worms[1], and many other things were stated in this petition.

When they had presented the requisition and read it to Cortés he replied to the many words it contained with far more numerous contradictions, besides most of us who had come over with Cortés, told him not to give permission to any of the followers of Narvaez nor to any one else to return to Cuba, but that we should all endeavour to serve God and the King, for that was the right thing to do and not to return to Cuba.

After Cortés had given his answer to the requisition, the men who were pressing their demands upon him saw that many of us, who stood firmly by Cortés, would put a stop to the importunity with which they expressed their demands merely by insisting that it would be neither to the service of God nor His Majesty to desert their captain during war time. At the end of much discussion they gave their obedience so far as to go with us on any expeditions that might be undertaken, but it was on condition that Cortés promised that when an opportunity should occur he would allow them to return to the Island of Cuba, but not even with this did they leave off murmuring against him and his conquest, which had cost them so dearly in leaving their homes and their ease, and coming to intrude where even their lives were not safe. Moreover they said that if we entered on another war with the forces of Mexico, which sooner or later would be unavoidable, they believed and considered it certain that we could not hold our own against them in battle, as they had seen in the affair of Mexico and the bridges, and in the famous battle of Otumba. Moreover they said that

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[1] Worms: In the text the word is "broma," which is the shipworm, *Teredo navalis.*

our Cortés only aimed to keep the command and always be a lord, and we bore with him, and were his servants, because we had nothing to lose but our lives, and they said many other tactless things, but we none of us took any notice considering the circumstances in which they spoke. But not many months passed before Cortés refused them leave to return to their homes and the Island of Cuba which I will relate at the proper time and place.

Let us omit repetitions and speak of what the historian Gomara says, although I am very tired of pointing out the nonsense which he says was given him as information, for things did not happen as he writes. So as not to be detained at every chapter by going over it all again and calling to mind how and in what way it happened, I have avoided writing about (his errors), but in this matter of the requisition which he says was presented to Cortés, he does not say who those were who made it, whether they were our people or the followers of Narvaez, and it seems to me that he does this to exalt Cortés and to debase us, who stood by him. Let it be known that the true "conquistadores" when we saw this written, knew for certain that gold and other gifts must have been given to Gomara in order that he should write in this way, for in all the battles and encounters it was we who supported Cortés, and now this chronicler humbles us by what he says. Gomara also states that Cortés, in his reply to this same requisition said, so as to encourage and animate us, that he would send to summon Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, one of whom he said was settling at Panuco with three hundred soldiers, and the other was making a settlement at Coatzacoalcos with as many more soldiers. There is no truth in what he says, for as soon as we set out for Mexico to the assistance of Alvarado, the arrangements which had been made for Juan Velásquez to go to Panuco, and for Diego de Ordás to Coatzacoalcos were cancelled, as I have

extensively explained in a former chapter where I have told all about it. Those two Captains went to Mexico with us to succour Pedro de Alvarado, and in the rout Juan Velásquez de Leon was left dead at the bridge, and Diego de Ordás came out of it with three severe wounds that were given him in Mexico, and I have already related how and when it happened. If therefore the Chronicler Gomara's success in telling the truth about what happened were as excellent as the style in which he writes, it would be a very good thing. Moreover I notice that he says concerning the battle of Otumba, that if it had not been for Cortés himself we should all have been defeated, and that he alone won the battle by making (as he did) the charge against the Chieftain who carried the standard and emblem of Mexico. I have already said and will repeat it again that Cortés deserves all honour as a valiant Captain, but above all we must give thanks to God who in His great Mercy always helped us and supported Cortés by giving him such brave and valiant Captains and brave soldiers as he had with him; for we gave him his mettle and broke up the squadrons and supported him, so that with our help and that of our Captains he might fight in the way that we fought, as I have already related in the chapters which treat of the subject.

For all the Captains whom I have named always kept in company with Cortés, and I will here name them again, they were Cristóbal de Olid, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Francisco de Morla, Luis Marin, Francisco de Lugo, Gonzalo Domínguez and other good and valiant soldiers who did not own horses, for originally sixteen horses and mares were all that came from the Island of Cuba with Cortés, and they no longer existed.

And as to what Gomara says in his history, that it was Cortés himself alone who won the battle of Otumba, why did he not relate the heroic deeds that we his captains and

valiant soldiers performed in that battle? For these reasons we have obtained the certainty that, so as to induce him to praise Cortés alone, they must have greased his palms, for he makes no mention of us; if not, let inquiry be made about that very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, how many times he came to the assistance of Cortés and saved his life up to the time of our return to Mexico, when he and many other soldiers lost their lives at the bridge in order to save that of Cortés. I had forgotten the other occasion when he saved Cortés' life in the affair at Zochimilco and he himself was badly wounded, and that my statement may be clearly understood, I will add that there was both a Cristóbal de Olea and a Cristóbal de Olid.

Then as to what the historian says about the blow that Cortés gave the Mexican captain with his horse, which made him drop the banner; it is true enough, but I have already said it was Juan de Salamanca, a native of the town of Ontiveros (who, after Mexico was conquered, became chief Alcalde of Coatzacoalcos), who gave him the lance thrust that slew him, and took from him the rich plumes and the standard that he was carrying, and presented it to Cortés, and some time afterwards His Majesty granted it to Salamanca as his coat of arms.

I have called this to mind here, not to avoid praising our Captain Hernando Cortés and holding him in the highest esteem, for he deserves all honour and glory for all the battles and conquests until we gained this New Spain, such as we are used to bestow on the most famous Captains in Spain, and such triumphs as the Romans accorded to Pompey and Julius Cæsar and the Scipios, and our Cortés is more worthy of praise than these Romans This same historian Gomara also says that Cortés secretly ordered Xicotenga the younger to be killed in Tlaxcala for the treachery that he was plotting in order to kill us, as I

have already related, but it did not happen as he says it did, for when he ordered him to be hanged it was in a town near to Texcoco as I shall relate further on. This historian also says that so many thousands of Indians opposed us in our expeditions; there is neither calculation nor sense in the great numbers that he gives; he also speaks of the cities and towns and villages where there were so many thousands of houses, when there was not the fifth part of them; and if one were to add up all that he puts in his history it would come to more millions of men than the universe contains; he does not mind whether he says eight thousand or eighty thousand, and he then brags, thinking that his history will be very pleasing to those who hear it, and does not relate what really took place. Let the interested reader observe the distance between the truth in this tale of mine and the falsehood[1] by comparing events word by word, and let him ignore eloquence and ornate language which is evidently pleasanter than my coarse [manner], but the truth as it is written can support even my bad wording and [lack of] polished eloquence.

Let us leave this recounting and remembering of evident mistakes, and enough of the stories he has written, although they have given occasion for Dr. Illescas and Pablo Jovio to follow his words, for I am more bound to tell the truth about all that happened than to flatter. Let us go back to our story, and I will relate how we decided to go to Tepeaca, and what happened on the expedition.

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "of his history."

BOOK IX.

THE HALT AT TEPEACA.

CHAPTER CXXX.

How we went to the province of Tepeaca, and what we did there, and other things that happened.

AS Cortés had asked the Caciques of Tlaxcala (whose names have already been given) for five thousand warriors, in order to overrun and chastise the towns where Spaniards had been killed, namely Tepeaca and Quecholac[1] and Tecamachalco, distant from Tlaxcala six or seven leagues, they got ready four thousand Indians, with the greatest willingness; for if we had a great desire to go to those towns, Mase Escasi and Xicotenga the elder had a still stronger desire to supply them [the Indian auxiliaries], because they [the people of Tepeaca, etc.] had come to rob some of their farms, and they were willing to send men against them. The explanation was as follows :—When the Mexicans turned us out of Mexico (in the way I have described in former chapters which give an account of it), and knew that we had taken shelter

[1] Cachula in the text.

in Tlaxcala, they took it for certain, that as soon as we were well, we would come with all the forces of Tlaxcala to overrun the lands of the towns which lay nearest the Tlaxcalan boundary, and for this reason they sent to all the provinces where they thought we might go, many squadrons of Mexicans to keep guard and establish garrisons, and the largest garrison of all was posted in Tepeaca. Mase Escasi and Xicotenga were aware of this, and even stood in fear of them. Then as we were all ready, we began our march. On that expedition we took neither artillery nor muskets, for all had been lost at the bridges, and for the few that were saved, we had no powder. We had with us seventeen horses and six cross-bows, and four hundred and twenty soldiers, most of them armed with sword and shield, and about two[1] thousand friends from Tlaxcala and food for one day, for the country through which we were marching was thickly peopled and well supplied with maize and fowls and the dogs of the country. As was usual with us, we kept our scouts well in advance, and marching in good order, we camped that night about three leagues from Tepeaca. They had already carried off all that was movable from the farms and hamlets through which we passed, for they had heard the news that we were coming to their town. So that nothing should be done without justification, and everything in good order, Cortés sent a message by six Indians of the town of Tepeaca and four of their women, whom we captured for that very purpose in those farms, to say that we were coming to their town to inquire and find out who, and how many, were concerned in the death of more than sixteen Spaniards slain without cause when they were on their way to Mexico; and that we had also come to find out why they had again many squadrons of

[1] Blotted out in the original: "six four."—G. G.

Mexicans with them, in whose company they had been attacking and robbing some farms of the Tlaxcalans who were our allies, and he begged them at once to come in peaceably to where we were camped so as to make friends with us, and to turn the Mexicans out of their town, for if they did not do so we would come against them as rebels and murderers and highway robbers, and punish them by blood and fire, and give them into slavery. So those six Indians and four women from this same town set out, and the threatening messages we sent by them were replied to by much fiercer ones that were brought back to us by the same six Indians and two Mexicans who accompanied them, for they knew well enough that we would do no harm to any messengers who were sent to us, on the contrary we would give them beads so as to attract them. With these [replies] sent by the people of Tepeaca, came the boastful words uttered by the Mexican Captains, because they had been victorious in the battle of the bridges in Mexico. Cortés ordered each messenger to be given a mantle, and he again requested the people to come and see him and to have no fear, for the Spaniards whom they had already killed, could not be brought to life again; moreover, let them come to him peaceably, and he would forgive them for the deaths that they had caused. He also wrote them a letter on the subject, although he knew that they could not understand it, but when they saw paper from Castile, they knew for certain that it contained some orders. Cortés also begged the two Mexicans who came with the messengers from Tepeaca to go back and bring him a reply. So they went back and the reply they brought was that we should advance no further, but should return whence we had come, otherwise they meant to have a grand gorging on our bodies the next day, better than they had had in Mexico at the Bridges and at Otumba. When Cortés heard this, he repeated it to our captains and

soldiers, and it was agreed that a statement should be drawn up before a Notary which would certify all that had happened, and would give into slavery all the allies of Mexico who had killed Spaniards, because, after they had given their fealty to His Majesty, they had revolted and killed over eight hundred and seventy of our people and sixty horses, and the [people from the] other towns, and because they were highway robbers and murderers of men. When this decree had been drawn up, Cortés sent to let them know about it, threatening them, and demanding peace. They replied that if we did not at once go back, they would come out and kill us, and they got ready to do so, and we did the same.

The next day we had a fine battle with the Mexicans and Tepeacans, on a plain, and as the field of battle was among maize and maguey plantations, although the Mexicans fought fiercely, they were soon routed by those on horseback, and those who had no horses were not behindhand. Then to see with what spirit our Tlaxcalan allies attacked them and followed them up and overtook them! and many of the Mexicans and Tepeacans were slain, but of our Tlaxcalan allies only three were killed, and two horses were wounded, and one of them died, and two of our soldiers were wounded, but not in a manner to cause them any danger.

As soon as the victory was gained, many Indian women and boys joined us and were collected from the fields and the houses; we did not trouble about the men who were carried off as slaves by the Tlaxcalans.

When the people of Tepeaca saw that notwithstanding their arrogance the Mexicans who garrisoned their town were defeated, and they themselves with them, they determined without saying anything to the Mexicans, to come to where we were, and we received them in peace and they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and turned the

Mexicans out of their houses. Then we went to the town of Tepeaca and founded a town there, which was named La Villa de Segura de la Frontera, because it was on the road to Villa Rica, and it stood in a good neighbourhood of excellent towns subject to Mexico, and there was plenty of maize, and we had our allies the Tlaxcalans to guard the frontier. There, Alcaldes and Regidores were chosen, and orders were given that the neighbourhood subject to Mexico was to be raided, especially the towns where Spaniards had been killed. An iron was made with which to brand those whom we took for slaves, it was shaped thus , which means *Guerra* [war]. From the Villa Segura de la Frontera we scoured the neighbourhood which included Quecholac and Tecamachalco, and the town of the Guayavas, and other towns of which I do not remember the names. It was in Quecholac that they had killed fifteen Spaniards in their quarters, and here we made many slaves, so that within forty days we had all these towns punished and thoroughly pacified.

At that time, in Mexico, they had raised up [to the throne] another Prince, because the Prince who had driven us out of Mexico had died of Smallpox. He whom they now made Lord over them was a nephew or very near relation of Montezuma, named Guatemoc, a young man of about twenty-five years, very much of a gentleman for an Indian, and very valiant, and he made himself so feared that all his people trembled before him, and he was married to a daughter of Montezuma, a very handsome woman for an Indian. When this Guatemoc, Prince of Mexico, learned that we had defeated the Mexican squadrons stationed in Tepeaca, and that they [the people of Tepeaca] had given their fealty to His Majesty, and served us and gave us food, and that we had settled there, he feared that we should overrun Oaxaca and other provinces and bring them all into our alliance; so he sent messengers through

all the towns and told them to be on the alert with all their arms, and he gave golden jewels to some Caciques, and to others he remitted their tribute, and above all he despatched great companies and garrisons of warriors to see that we did not enter his territory, and charged them to fight very fiercely against us, so that it should not happen again, as it did at Tepeaca and Quecholac and Tecamachalco, where we had made slaves of all. Where he sent the greatest number of warriors was to Guacachula and Izucar,[1] which were distant from Tepeaca, where we had established our town, about twelve leagues. So that one may distinguish these names clearly, one town is named Cachula [Quecholac] and the other is named Guacachula. I will postpone relating what was done in Guacachula until the proper time and place, and will tell how at that time, messengers came from Villa Rica, to say that a ship had come from Cuba with some soldiers on board.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

How a ship came from Cuba, sent by Diego Velásquez with Pedro Barba as her captain; and the method which the admiral, whom our Cortés had appointed as guardian of the sea, adopted in order to capture them, and it was in this way.

WHILE we marched about that province of Tepeaca punishing those who were concerned in the death of our companions (that is, those who killed them in these towns) and bringing them to peace, and all were giving their fealty to His Majesty, letters came from Villa Rica to say that a ship had arrived in port, and that her Captain was a gentleman named Pedro Barba, a great friend of Cortés. This Pedro Barba had been a lieutenant of Diego Velás-

[1] Oçucar in the text.

quez in the Havana, and he brought with him only thirteen soldiers, a horse and a mare, for the vessel that he came in was very small. He also brought letters for Pánfilo de Narvaez, the Captain whom Diego Velásquez had sent against us, in the belief that New Spain was now his, and in these letters Velásquez sent to tell him that if he had not already killed Cortés that he should at once send him a prisoner to Cuba, so that he could be sent to Castile, for so it had been ordered by Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, President of the Indies, that he should be made prisoner at once with our other Captains. Diego Velásquez took it for certain that we were defeated, or at least that Narvaez was Lord over New Spain.

As soon as Pedro Barba arrived in port with his ship, and let go his anchor, the Admiral of the sea whom Cortés had appointed, named Pedro Caballero or Juan Caballero (already mentioned by me as being placed there by Cortés) went off to visit and welcome him, in a boat well manned by sailors with their arms hidden. He reached Pedro Barba's ship, and after the usual polite speeches, asking how his Honour had fared, and taking off of hats and embracing one another as is the fashion, they asked Pedro Barba[1] about Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, and how they had left him. Pedro Barba answered that he was very well. Then Pedro Barba and the others whom he had brought with him, asked after the Señor Capitan Pánfilo de Narvaez and how he got on with Cortés. They replied very well, but that Cortés was in revolt and had taken flight with twenty of his companions, and that Narvaez was very prosperous and rich; and that it was a very fine country. In the course

[1] The text says, "Preguntan al Pedro Escudero," instead of "Pedro Barba"; this is evidently merely a slip of the pen.

of conversation they told Pedro Barba that he could disembark as there was a town close by where they could go to sleep and take up their quarters, and food and all they needed would be brought to them, for the town had been assigned for that very purpose. They told them so many yarns that they induced them to go ashore in the boat and in others that soon put off from the other ships at anchor. When they had got them clear of their ship, they had arranged to have a large body of sailors round the Admiral, Pedro Caballero, and he said to Pedro Barba, "Surrender, in the name of the Señor Capitan Hernando Cortés, my commander." Thus they were captured, and they were thunderstruck. Then they removed from the ship its sails, rudder and compass, and sent them [Pedro Barba and his companions] to where we were stationed with Cortés in Tepeaca, and we were delighted to receive them for the help that it brought us in the very nick of time, for those expeditions which I have said that we were making were not so safe but that many of our soldiers were wounded, and others fell ill from the hardships and from the blood and dust that curdled in their bowels, and we passed nothing else from the mouth. We always wore our armour on our backs, and never rested day or night, so that five of our soldiers had already died of pleurisy within fifteen days. I also wish to say that with this Pedro Barba came Francisco López, who was afterwards a settler and Regidor of Guatemala.

Cortés paid much honour to Pedro Barba, and made him Captain of the crossbowmen. Pedro Barba brought the news that there was another small vessel in Cuba which Diego Velásquez intended to send with cassava bread and provisions, and this vessel arrived within eight days, and a gentleman named Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera, a native of Medina del Campo, came in her as Captain,

and brought with him eight soldiers and six crossbows and much twine for making bowstrings, and one mare. In exactly the same way that they had taken Pedro Barba, so did they take this Rodrigo Morejon, and they were sent at once to Segura de la Frontera, and we rejoiced to see all of them, and Cortés paid them much honour and gave them employment, and thank God we went on strengthening ourselves with soldiers and crossbows and two or three more horses, and I will leave off here and go back to say what the Mexican armies which were posted on the frontier did at Guacachula, and how the Caciques of that town came secretely to ask help from Cortés to turn them out.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

How the Indians of Guacachula came to beg help from Cortés, because the Mexican armies were ill-treating them and robbing them, and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said that Guatemoc, the chieftain who had recently been raised to be King of Mexico, was sending garrisons to his frontiers, and in particular he sent one very powerful and numerous body of warriors to Guacachula and another to Izucar, distant two or three leagues from Guacachula, for he feared greatly that we should raid the lands and towns subject to Mexico in that direction. It seems that as he sent such a host of warriors, and as they were under a new master, that they committed many robberies and acts of violence against the inhabitants of those towns where they were quartered; so much so, that the inhabitants of that province would not put up with them, for they said that they robbed them of their mantles and their maize and fowls, and jewels of gold and, above all, of all their daughters and wives if they were handsome, and they violated them in the presence of their husbands

and fathers and relations. So when they heard it said that the people of the town of Cholula had enjoyed peace and tranquillity since the day the Mexicans had ceased to come there, and that now it was the same at Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, and Quecholac, for this reason four chieftains of this town I have named came very secretly to Cortés and asked him to send Teules and horses to put a stop to these robberies and injuries which the Mexicans were committing, and said that all the people of that town and others in the neighbourhood would aid us in slaying the Mexican squadrons.

When Cortés heard this he proposed that Cristóbal de Olid should go as Captain with nearly all the horsemen and crossbowmen and a large force of Tlaxcalans, for the spoil the Tlaxcalans had carried off from Tepeaca had induced many more Tlaxcalans to come to our camp and town. Cortés [also] told off certain captains from among those who had come with Narvaez, to accompany Captain Cristóbal de Olid, so he took with him over three hundred soldiers and all the best horses that we had.

As he went on his way to that province with all his companions, it seems that some Indians told the followers of Narvaez that all the fields and houses were full of Mexican warriors, many more than there were at Otumba, and that Guatemoc the Prince of Mexico was there with them. It is said that they told so many stories that they frightened the followers of Narvaez, and as these had no liking for going on expeditions or to see fighting, but wanted to get back to their Island of Cuba, and as they had escaped from the affair in Mexico, and the causeways and the bridges, and that of Otumba, they did not want to find themselves in the same straits again.

Then these followers of Narvaez said many things to Cristóbal de Olid to the effect that they should not go on any further, but should turn back, and that he could see

that this war was going to be worse than the last, where so many lives were lost, and they raised many objections and gave him to understand that if he, Cristóbal de Olid, desired to go on, he might go and good luck to him, but as for themselves many of them did not wish to proceed any further. Thus, although they had a brave Captain as leader, and notwithstanding that he told them how it was not a question of going back, but of advancing with many good horses and men, and how if they turned back but a single step the Indians would make short work of them, and as the land was level he would not turn back but press on, (in which many of Cortés' soldiers backed him up and said there must be no turning back, that they had been present in other perilous expeditions and wars, and thanks to God they had always been victorious,) yet nothing that was said to them had any effect, but by means of their entreaties that they should go back and should write to Cortés from Quecholac explaining matters, they managed to confuse the mind of Cristóbal de Olid, and he turned back. When Cortés heard of it he was very angry and sent Cristóbal de Olid two more crossbowmen, and wrote to him that he marvelled that a man of his strength and courage, on account of nobodies, should fail to proceed with a thing he was ordered to do, like that. When Cristóbal de Olid saw the letter, he shouted with anger, and said to those who had advised him, that on their account he had fallen into error, and without more discussion he ordered them to accompany him, and said that any one who did not want to go, might go back to the camp as a coward, and Cortés would punish him. So like a fierce lion in his anger he set out with his people on the road to Guacachula.

About a league from the town, the Caciques of the town came out to tell them how and where the men of Culua were posted, and how they should be attacked, and in

what way the Spaniards could be assisted. When this was understood, the horsemen, crossbowmen and soldiers were told the position they were to occupy in the attack, and they fell on the troops of Culua, and although the latter fought well for a good while and wounded some of our soldiers and killed two horses and wounded eight more at some barricades and ditches that were in the town, within an hour all the Mexicans were put to flight. They say that our Tlaxcalans fought very bravely and that they killed and captured many of the enemy, and, as all the people of the town and province helped them, they made great havoc among the Mexicans who hastened in full retreat to fortify themselves in another large town called Izucar, where there was another great garrison of Mexicans who were posted in a great fortress, and they had broken down a bridge so that Cristóbal de Olid and the horses could not pass. As Olid was as angry as a tiger, he did not tarry long in that town but went on at once to Izucar, and with those who could follow him and with our allies from Guacachula he crossed the river and fell on the Mexican squadrons and quickly defeated them. There they killed two horses and gave Olid two wounds, one of them in the thigh, and his horse was badly wounded. He stayed in Izucar two days, and as the Mexicans were defeated, the Caciques and chieftains of that and of other neighbouring towns soon asked for peace and gave themselves as vassals of our Lord the King. When all was calmed down he returned with all his soldiers to our town of Frontera. Because I did not go on this expedition I state in this narrative "they say" that what I have related took place.

Cortés and all of us went out to receive them, and it gave us much pleasure, and we laughed about their having persuaded Cristóbal de Olid to turn back, and he also laughed at it himself, and said that some people thought

more about their mines in Cuba than of their arms, and he vowed to God, that if he should go on another expedition he would take with him only the poor soldiers who had followed Cortés and not the rich ones who had come with Narvaez, who wished to do more of the commanding than he did.

I will not talk any more about this, but will quote what the Historian Gomara says in his History, that Cristóbal de Olid turned back on the road to Guacachula because he did not understand the Nahuatatos and interpreters, and believed that there was some double dealing against us. It did not happen as Gomara says it did, but because the principal Captains from among the followers of Narvaez were told by some other Indians that great forces of Mexicans were assembled, even more than there had been in Mexico or Otumba, and that the Lord of Mexico named Guatemoc who had just been raised to be their king was with them. As they *"habian escapado de la de Mazagatos"* (had just got out of one difficulty) as the proverb has it, they greatly feared having to fight again, and it was for that reason that they called on Cristóbal de Olid to turn back, although he contended that they should advance, and this is the truth and no lie. Gomara also says that Cortés went to that war after Cristóbal de Olid returned, and it was not so; this same Cristóbal de Olid, Maestre de Campo, is he who went, as I have stated. He also says twice that those who told the followers of Narvaez that there were so many thousands of Indians assembled, were the people of Huexotzingo, when they passed through that town. He also says many other things that are misleading.[1]

[1] It is quite possible that Gomara is here more accurate than Bernal Díaz; Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor gives an account of the expedition; he says nothing about Cristóbal de Olid, but states that when the army turned back he himself took command and marched to Guacachula by way of Cholula and the (or a) town of Huexotzingo.

It is clear that in going from Tepeaca to Guacachula one has not to turn back to Huexotzingo. It would be as though being in Medina del Campo and wishing to go to Salamanca we should take the road to Valladolid! One would be no worse than the other, so the historian goes on his crazy way, and if all his writings in other Spanish chronicles are like this, I condemn them as a matter of lies and fables, however good his style may be.

Let us leave this subject and say what else happened at that time, which was that a ship came to the harbour of the rock of the ugly name, called what's-his-name Bernal, which was near Villa Rica, and it came from the Panuco expedition which had been sent out by Garay, and the name of the Captain who came in her was Camargo, and what happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

How there arrived at the rock and port which is near Villa Rica, a ship, one of those that Francisco de Garay[1] had sent to form a settlement at the Rio Panuco, and what else happened about it.

WHILE we were stationed at Segura de la Frontera, as I have already related, letters reached Cortés to say that one of the ships which Francisco de Garay had sent to form a settlement at Panuco, had come into port, and that her Captain was named somebody Camargo, and that she brought over sixty soldiers, all of them ill, and very yellow and with swollen bellies. They brought the news that the other Captain whom Garay had sent to settle at Panuco, whose name was something Álvarez

[1] Governor of Jamaica.

Pinedo, and all the soldiers and horses that had been sent to that province, had been killed by the Indians, and their ships burned. This Camargo, seeing how badly things had turned out, re-embarked his soldiers and came for help to that port, for they knew well that we had settled there. It was because they had to endure the constant attacks of the Indians of Panuco[1] that they had nothing to eat and arrived so thin and yellow and swollen. Moreover, they said that the Captain Camargo had been a Dominican Friar and had taken vows. These soldiers and their captain came on very slowly (for they could not walk, owing to their weakness) to the town of Frontera where we were stationed. When Cortés saw them so swollen and yellow he knew that they were no good as fighting men and that we should hardly be able to cure them, and he treated them with much consideration. I fancy that Camargo died very soon, but I do not well remember what became of him, and many others of them died, and then for a joke we gave the others a nickname, and called them the "verdigris bellies"[2] for they were the colour of death and their bellies were so swollen.

So as not to delay my story by telling about each incident at the time and place that it happened, I will say that all the ships that came to Villa Rica about that time were sent by Garay, although they may have come one a month in advance of the other; let us note anyhow that all of them arrived no matter whether earlier or later. I say this for one Miguel Díaz de Auz arrived soon after, an Aragonese who had been sent as one of Francisco de Garay's captains to succour Captain something Álvarez Pinedo, for he thought that Pinedo was at Panuco. When Miguel Díaz

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[1] The text says, "Indios de Xamayca" (Jamaica); but this must be a slip of the pen.

[2] Pançiverdetes.

de Auz arrived at the port of Panuco and found no vestige, neither hide nor hair, of the Armada of Garay he understood at once from what he saw, that they were all dead. The Indians of that province attacked Miguel Díaz as soon as he arrived with his ship, and for that reason he came on to our port and disembarked his soldiers, who numbered more than fifty with (thirty)[1] seven horses, and he soon arrived where we were stationed with Cortés, and this help was most welcome just at the time when we needed it most.

So that it may be clearly understood who this Miguel Díaz de Auz was, I will state that he served His Majesty well on all occasions in the wars and conquest of New Spain; and it was he who after New Spain was settled brought a suit against a brother-in-law of Cortés, named Andrés de Barrios, a native of Seville whom they called the Dancer, and they gave him that name because he danced so often. The lawsuit was about the half of Mestitan.

It was this Miguel Díaz de Auz who, before the Royal Council of the Indies, in the year 1541, stated that he [Cortés] bestowed favours and Indians on some because they danced well, and from others he took their property because they had served His Majesty well by fighting. It was also he who said that Cortés gave Indians to Andrés de Barrios because he was his brother-in-law, although he did not deserve them, as he was with . . . . in Seville . . . ., and that he failed to give them to those to whom His Majesty had ordered that they should be given. It

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1 "Sus soldados que eran mas de cinquenta y *treinta* y siete caballos." The "treinta" (30) is clearly an error; it may have been written in mistake for "tres," thus:—"More than 53 soldiers and 7 horses."

In the following chapter it is stated that the three ships sent by Garay brought one hundred and twenty soldiers and seventeen horses and mares.

was he also who said most distinctly other things about the failure of justice towards those whom His Majesty had recommended, and moreover, he said other things, such as that they wanted to follow in the footsteps of the Villain of Cuba, so that the gentlemen who directed the Royal Council of the Indies were angered, of whom the President was the Reverend Fray García de Loysa, at one time Archbishop of Seville, and the Oidores were the Bishop of Lugo and his Licentiate Gutierrez Velásquez, and the Doctor Bernal Díaz de Luco and Doctor Beltran.

Let us go back to our story; then Miguel Díaz de Auz, after stating all he had a mind to, spread his cloak on the ground, and placing his dagger to his breast, laid himself down on the cloak and said: "If what I have spoken is not true, may your highnesses order my throat to be cut with this dagger, and if it is true, do severe justice." Thereupon, the President ordered him to rise and said that they were not there to kill any one, but to do justice, and that he was ill-advised in what he had said, he must go away and not say any more rude things, for otherwise he would punish him. What they decreed about the Mestitan suit was that he should be given a share of what the town produced, amounting to more than two thousand five hundred pesos, on condition that he should not enter the town for two years, for what they accused him of, was that he had killed certain Indians in that town and in others that he had owned.

Let us leave off relating this, for it is wandering from my story; and say that a few days after Miguel Díaz de Auz had come to that port in the way I have said, another ship arrived in port which Garay had also sent to help and succour his expedition, believing that they were all safe and well in the Rio de Panuco. The Captain who came in her was an old man named Ramírez, and he was far advanced in years and for this reason we called him

"the elder"[1] (for there were in our camp two Ramírezes) and he brought over forty soldiers and ten horses and mares, and crossbows and other arms. Thus, Francisco de Garay shot off one shaft after another to the assistance of his Armada, and each one went to assist the good fortune of Cortés and of us. It was of the greatest help to us, and all these men from Garay, as I have already said, came to Tepeaca where we were stationed. Because the soldiers brought by Miguel Díaz de Auz arrived very hearty and fat, we called them "the strong backs,"[2] and those who came with the elder Ramírez, who wore cotton armour so thick that no arrow could penetrate it, and it was very heavy, we called "the pack saddles."[3] When the captains and soldiers whom I have mentioned, presented themselves before Cortés, he paid them much honour. Let us stop telling about the succour that came to us from Garay, which was most acceptable, and tell how Cortés despatched Gonzalo de Sandoval on an expedition to the towns named Xalazingo and Zacatami.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

How Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to bring to peace the towns of Xalaçingo and Çacatami,[4] and to find out what Spaniards had been killed in them and what arms they had captured, and what the country was like, and to demand of the people the gold that they had stolen; for this purpose he took with him two hundred soldiers and twenty horsemen and twelve crossbowmen.

CORTÉS had now an abundance of soldiers and horses and crossbows, as he had been strengthened by the two small

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[1] In Chapter CXXXVI, Ramírez the elder is mentioned as a lame old carpenter.

[2] Los de los lomos rezios.

[3] Las albardillas.

[4] In this chapter (in which the place-names are printed exactly as they appear in the original text) the author gives an account of two

vessels sent by Diego Velásquez in which Pedro Barba and Rodrigo de Morejon de Lobera came as captains, bringing over twenty-five soldiers and two horses and a mare. Then came the three ships sent by Garay; in the first came Camargo as Captain, in the second Miguel Díaz de Auz, and in the last Ramírez the elder, and these captains between them brought over one hundred and twenty soldiers and seventeen horses and mares, and the mares were both for sport and for chargers.

Cortés had received the news that in some towns named Çacatami [Zocotla] and Xalaçingo [Xalatcinco] and in others in the neighbourhood, many of the soldiers of Narvaez had been killed when on their way from Mexico, and also that it was in those towns that they had killed, and stolen the gold from Juan de Alcántara and the other two settlers from the town of Villa Rica. This was the gold that had fallen to the share of all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica, as I have fully described in the chapter that treats of that subject.

Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval, the chief Alguacil, as the captain of that expedition, a valiant man of good counsel, and he took with him two hundred soldiers, nearly all of them from us, the followers of Cortés, and twenty horsemen and twelve crossbowmen and a large force of

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expeditions under Sandoval, the first to Çacatami and Xalaçingo and the second to Coçotlan. Reference to Chapter LXI will show the confusion that there originated over these names. There can be little doubt that Çacatami, Coçotlan, and Castil Blanco are one and the same place, that is, Zocotla (the Zautla of the modern maps), and that this chapter contains two accounts of the same expedition. Cortés in his second letter mentions only one expedition to Çacatami. Bernal Díaz is particular to state in Chapter CXXXII that he did not go on the expedition to Guacachula and Izucar, and illness at this time would easily account for lack of distinct memory of the events when he came to write them down so many years afterwards. In Chapter LXI Bernal Díaz mentions stopping at a small town belonging to Xalaçingo, a day's march from Castil Blanco: this may be the town visited by Sandoval, and not the site of the present town of Jalacingo, situated about forty miles to the north-east of Castil Blanco.

Tlaxcalans. Before he reached those towns he learned that they were all up in arms and had with them garrisons of Mexicans, and that they had fortified themselves strongly with breastworks and materials for defence, for they well knew that it was on account of the deaths of the Spaniards they had slain that we had come against them to punish them, as we had done to those of Tepeaca, Cachula [Quecholac] and Tecamachalco.

Sandoval arranged his troops and crossbowmen in good order, and told the horsemen how and in what manner they were to charge and break through the enemy. Before they entered the enemy's country he despatched messengers to tell them to come peaceably and give up the gold and arms they had stolen, and he would pardon them the death of the Spaniards. This sending of messengers to treat for peace was repeated three or four times, and the reply that the enemy sent was, that as they had killed and eaten the Teules who were asked about, so would they do to the Captain and all those he had brought with him. So the messages did no good, and he sent again to say that he would make slaves of them as traitors and highway robbers, and that they should get ready to defend themselves.

Then Sandoval and his companions set out, and he made the attack from two sides, and although the Mexicans and the natives of those towns fought very well, without relating anything more that happened in those battles, I may say that the enemy were defeated and the Mexicans and the Caciques of those towns were put to flight, and the pursuit was kept up and many of the common people were captured, but they did not care to keep the Indian men so as not to have to guard them.

They found in the Cues of that town clothes and armour and horses' bridles and two saddles, and other things belonging to horsemen, which had been offered to the Idols,

Sandoval determined to stay there three days; and the Caciques from those towns came to ask pardon and give their fealty to His Majesty, and Sandoval told them that they must give up the gold that they had stolen from the Spaniards they had killed, and then he would pardon them. They replied that the Mexicans had taken it, and had sent it to the Lord of Mexico who had been chosen as King, and that they had none of it. So Sandoval told them that they must go to Malinche, that is Cortés, about the pardon, and that he [Cortés] would speak to them and pardon them. Sandoval returned with a great spoil of women and boys who were branded as slaves, and Cortés was delighted when he saw him arrive strong and well, although eight soldiers had been badly wounded, and three horses killed, and Sandoval himself had one arrow wound.

I did not go on that expedition as I was very ill with fever and was vomiting blood, and thank God I got well for they bled me.

As Gonzalo de Sandoval had told the Caciques of Xalazingo [Xalatcinco] and Çacatami [Zocotla][1] to go to Cortés to sue for peace, not only did the Chieftains of those towns come, but those of many other towns in the neighbourhood, and all gave their fealty to His Majesty and brought food to the town where we were stationed. This expedition of Sandoval had the best results and brought the country to peace, and from now on Cortés had such renown throughout the towns of New Spain, on the one hand for being fair in all that he did, and on the other hand for being such a brave man, that he struck terror into them all, and most of all into Guatemoc the Prince and King lately raised to be ruler in Mexico. So great was the authority and position and command to which Cortés had attained, that they brought before him the disputes

[1] See note at beginning of chapter.

between Indians from distant lands, especially questions of chieftainship and overlordship. At that time smallpox had spread so widely in New Spain that many Caciques died, and they came to Cortés concerning questions as to whom the chieftaincy belonged, and who should be lord and should apportion lands or vassals or other property, as though he [Cortés] were the absolute master of the land, so that with his hand and authority he should raise the right claimant to be chieftain.

At that time people came from the towns of Izucar and Guacachula, already mentioned by me, because in Izucar the Lord of that town was married to a near relation of Montezuma, and they had a son who they said was a Cacique and a nephew of Montezuma and it seems that he inherited the Lordship, and others said that it belonged to another Chieftain, and they had disputes about it, and they came to Cortés and he decided that it should go to the relation of Montezuma, and they carried out his orders. In a similar manner they came from many other towns in the neighbourhood about disputes, and in each case he gave the land and vassals to the Chieftain to whom he thought it by right belonged.

About the same time Cortés also received the news that in a town six leagues away named Coçotlan [Zocotla][1], which we called Castil Blanco, nine Spaniards had been killed, and he sent the same Gonzalo de Sandoval to chastise the inhabitants and to bring them to peace. Sandoval went there with thirty horsemen and one hundred soldiers, eight crossbowmen and five musketeers, and many Tlaxcalans, and after he had made his threats and requests to induce them to come in peacefully [saying that] he would pardon them for the death of the Spaniards whom they

[1] Here apparently begins the repetition of the story that has just been told.

had killed, and after he had said many civil things to them through five Chieftains from Tepeaca, [he added] that if they did not so come he would wage war on them and make them slaves.

It seems that there were Mexican troops in the town guarding and protecting it, and they answered that they already had a Lord over them whose name was Guatemoc, and that they had no need to go or come at the word of another Chieftain, and that if the Spaniards should come there they would find them on the field [of battle], and that their forces were no weaker now than they had been in Mexico and at the bridges and causeways, and they already knew what our valour amounted to. As soon as Sandoval heard this, he formed up his men and the horsemen, crossbowmen and musketeers in order of battle, and told the Tlaxcalans not to throw themselves on the enemy at the beginning of the battle, so as not to get in the way of the horsemen or run the chance of being wounded by the crossbows and muskets, or being trampled on by the horses, but that when the squadrons had been broken up and defeated they should take the Mexicans prisoners and keep up the pursuit. Then he began his march towards the town, and two good squadrons of warriors sallied forth on the road to oppose him near some strongholds and barrancas, and there they stood firm for a time, but the crossbows and muskets did them much damage so that Sandoval was able to pass by the stronghold and stone walls with his horsemen, however they wounded nine of his horses and one of them died, and they also wounded four soldiers. When he saw that he was clear of that bad pass, and had room to gallop his horses (although the ground was not very good, for it was full of stones), he charged on the rear of the squadrons, breaking them up and driving them back on the town itself, where there was a great Court; there the enemy had another

force posted, and some Cues whither they retired to fortify themselves. Although they fought very bravely yet he conquered them, and killed seven Indians, for they were in bad passes. There was no need to order the Tlaxcalans to follow up the pursuit, for as they were warriors they undertook the task with zeal, especially because their country was not far from that town. There they captured many women and people of no consequence. Gonzalo de Sandoval stayed there two days, and he sent to summon the Caciques of that town by means of some Tepeaca Chieftains who were in his company, and they came and asked for pardon for the death of the Spaniards, and Sandoval told them that if they would give up the clothes and property that they had stolen from those they had killed, he would pardon them, and they replied that they had burned them all and had nothing left, that they had eaten most of those they had killed, but they had sent five of the Teules alive to Guatemoc their Lord, and that they had paid the penalty for this through those who had now been killed on the field of battle and in the town, and they begged him to pardon them, for they would bring them plenty to eat, and would provide the town where Malinche was stationed with food.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval saw that there was nothing more to be done, he pardoned them, and they promised to obey all commands. With this message he returned to the town, and was well received by Cortés and all those in Camp, where I will leave off talking about him and will relate how they branded all the slaves that had been taken in those towns and provinces, and what happened about it.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

How all the men and women slaves in our camp, whom we had captured in the affairs of Tepeaca, Quecholac, Tecamachalco and Castil Blanco and their territories, were collected together to be branded in the name of His Majesty, with the iron which had been made, and what happened about it.

WHEN Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived at the town of Segura de la Frontera after having made the expeditions I have spoken of, we had all the people of that province pacified, and had for the moment no other expeditions planned, for all the towns in the neighbourhood had given their allegiance to His Majesty. So Cortés decided, with the officials of the King, that all the slaves that had been taken should be branded so that his fifth might be set aside after the fifth had been taken for His Majesty, and to this effect he had a proclamation made in the town and camp, that all the soldiers should bring to a house chosen for the purpose all the women whom we were sheltering, to be branded, and the time allowed for doing this was the day of the proclamation and one more.

We all came with all the Indian women and girls and boys whom we had captured, but the grown-up men we did not trouble about as they were difficult to watch and we had no need of their services, as we had our friends the Tlaxcalans. When they had all been brought together and had been marked with the iron which was like this , which stands for *guerra* [war], when we were not expecting it they set aside the Royal fifth, and then took another fifth for Cortés, and, in addition to this, the night before, after we had placed the women in that house as I have stated, they took away and hid the best looking Indian women, and there was not a good-looking one left, and when it came to dividing them, they allotted us the old and ugly women, and there was a great deal of

grumbling about it against Cortés and those who ordered the good-looking Indian women to be stolen and hidden; so much so that some of the soldiers of Narvaez said to Cortés himself, that they took God to witness that such a thing had never happened as to have two Kings in the country belonging to our Lord the King, and to deduct two-fifths. One of the soldiers who said this to him was Juan Bono de Quejo, and moreover he said that they would not remain in such a country, and that he would inform His Majesty in Spain about it, and the Royal Council of the Indies. Another soldier told Cortés very clearly that it did not suffice to divide the gold which had been secured in Mexico in the way in which he had done it, for when he was dividing it he said that it was three hundred thousand pesos that had been collected, and when we were fleeing from Mexico, he had ordered witness to be taken that there remained more than seven hundred thousand; and that now the poor soldier who had done all the hard work and was covered with wounds could not even have a good-looking Indian woman; besides they [the soldiers] had given them [the Indian women] skirts and chemises, and all those women had been taken and hidden away. Moreover when the proclamation had been issued that they were to be brought and branded, it was thought that each soldier would have his women returned to him, and they would be appraised according to the value of each in pesos, and that when they had been valued a fifth would be paid to His Majesty and there would not be any fifth for Cortés; and other complaints were made worse than these.

When Cortés saw this, he said with smooth words that he swore on his conscience (for that was his usual oath) that from that time forward he would not act in that way, but that good or bad, all the Indian women, should be put up to auction, and that the good-looking ones should be

sold for so much, and those that were not [good looking], for a lower price, so that there should be no cause of quarrel with him. However, here in Tepeaca no more slaves were made, but afterwards in Texcoco it was done nearly in this manner, as I will relate further on.

I will stop talking about this and will refer to another matter almost worse than this of the slaves, which was, as I have already said in Chapter CXXVIII, that when on that night of sorrow[1] we were fleeing from Mexico, there remained in the hall where Cortés was lodged many bars of gold which were lost, because no more could be carried than what was packed on the horses and mare, and on a number of Tlaxcalans, and what our allies went away with and other soldiers carried off. As the rest would have been lost and left in the hands of the Mexicans, Cortés declared before a King's Notary that whoever should wish to take gold from what was left there, might carry it off and welcome, for their own, as otherwise it would be lost. Many of the soldiers who were followers of Narvaez loaded themselves with it, and so too did some of our men, and it cost many of them their lives, and those who escaped with the booty they carried, had been in great risk of being killed, and emerged covered with wounds. As in our camp and town of Segura de la Frontera (for so it was named), Cortés got to know that there were many bars of gold, and that they were were changing hands at play, and as the proverb has it: "*El oro y amores eran malos de encubrir*" (gold and love affairs are difficult to hide), he ordered a proclamation to be made, that under heavy penalty they should bring and declare the gold that they had taken, and that a third part of it should be returned to them, and that if they did not bring it, all would be seized. Many of the soldiers who possessed gold did not

[1] The "noche triste."

wish to give it up, and some of it Cortés took as a loan, but more by force than by consent, and as nearly all the Captains possessed gold and even the officials of the King, the proclamation was all the more ignored and no more spoken of; however, this order of Cortés' seemed to be very wrong. Let us not say anything more about it now, and I will tell how most of the Captains and principal persons who had come with Narvaez asked leave of Cortés to return to Cuba, and Cortés granted it, and what else happened about it.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

How the Captains and principal persons who had come in the Company of Narvaez asked leave of Cortés to return to the Island of Cuba, and Cortés granted it, and they set out; and how Cortés despatched ambassadors to Castile and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, and what happened in each case.

WHEN the Captains of Narvaez observed that now we had reinforcements both through those who had come from Cuba, and those whom Francisco de Garay had sent to join his expedition from Jamaica, as I have explained in the chapter that treats of the subject, and they saw that the towns of the province of Tepeaca were all at peace, after much discussion with Cortés, and many promises and entreaties, they begged him to give them leave to return to the Island of Cuba, as he had promised. Cortés promptly granted their request, and even promised them that if he regained New Spain and the city of Mexico that he would give his partner Andrés de Duero much more gold than he had given him before, and he made similar promises to the other Captains, especially to Augustin Bermúdez, and he ordered them to be given supplies such as could be procured at that time, maize, and salted dogs,

and a few fowls, and one of the best ships. Cortés wrote to his wife, who was named Doña Catalina Juarez, la Marcaida, and to Juan Juarez his brother-in-law, who at that time lived in the Island of Cuba, and sent them some bars and jewels of gold, and told them about all the disasters and hardships that had happened to us, and how we had been driven out of Mexico.

Let us leave this and state who were the persons who asked leave to go to Cuba. Those who went away rich were Andrés de Duero, Augustin Bermúdez, Juan Bono de Quexo, Bernaldino de Quesada, Francisco Valásquez the humpback (a relation of Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba), Gonzalo Carrasco, who after he returned to New Spain lived in Puebla, Melchior de Velasco, who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, and one Jiménez, who lived afterwards in Oaxaca, who went to fetch his sons, and the Comendador Leon de Cervantes, who went for his daughters whom after the capture of Mexico he married off very honourably. There also went a man named Maldonado, a native of Medellin, who was ill, I do not mean Maldonado the husband of Doña Maria del Rincon, nor Maldonado the broad, nor another Maldonado called Álvaro Maldonado the fierce, who was married to a lady named Maria Rîas; and there was also one Vargas, a settler of Trinidad, whom they called in Cuba, Vargas the handsome, I do not mean that Vargas who was father-in-law of Cristóbal Lobo and became a settler in Guatemala; there also went one of Cortés' soldiers named Cárdenas, a pilot, this was the Cárdenas who said to his companions, "How can we soldiers get any rest while there are two kings in New Spain?" It was he to whom Cortés gave three hundred dollars so that he could return to his wife and children. To avoid prolixity in calling them all to mind, [I will say that] many others went whose names I do not remember.

When Cortés gave them leave to go, we asked him why he gave it, as we who remained behind were so few, and he replied that it was to avoid brawls and importunities, and that we could see for ourselves that some of those who were returning were not fit for warfare, and that it was better to remain alone than in useless company. Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to despatch them from the port, and told him that after they were embarked he was to return at once to the town.

I will now say that he also sent Diego de Ordás and Alonzo de Mendoza, a native of Medellin de Cáceres, to Castile, with certain messages from himself, and I do not know if he sent any from us, for he did not tell us a thing about the business that he was negotiating with His Majesty, nor did I find out what took place in Spain, except that the Bishop of Burgos said loudly before Diego de Ordás that both Cortés and all his soldiers were bad men and traitors, and that Ordás answered very well for all of us. Then Ordás was made Comendador of the Order of Santiago, and for armorial bearings was given the Volcano which stands between Huexotzingo and near Cholula[1]; and what negotiations he carried out I will relate further on when we came to know of them by letter.

Let us leave this now and I will tell how Cortés sent Alonzo de Ávila, who was a captain and Accountant of New Spain, and with him another gentleman named Francisco Álvarez "the little,"[2] who was a man well versed in business, and ordered them to go in another ship to the Island of Santo Domingo, to give an account of all that had happened to the Royal Audiencia which was stationed there, and to the Geronimite Friars who were Governors of all the Islands, and induce them to think well of all we had done in our conquests and in the defeat of Narvaez. [They

[1] Entre Guaxoçingo y cerca de Cholula.
[2] Francisco Alvarez Chico.

were also to inform them] that slaves had been made in the towns where Spaniards had been killed and the inhabitants had renounced the allegiance that they had given to our Lord the King, and that it was intended to do so in all the other towns that belonged to the alliance and name of the Mexicans. Cortés prayed them to send a report of it [our actions] to Castile to our Great Emperor and to bring to his mind the great services we were always performing for him, and that by the intercession of the Royal Audiencia of the Geronimite Friars we might be favoured with Justice in spite of the ill will and antagonism that the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano entertained against us.

Cortés also sent another vessel to the Island of Jamaica for horses and mares, and the captain who went in her was called something de Solís, who after the capture of Mexico was called "Solís of the orchard," son-in-law of a man called the Bachelor of Arts Ortega.

I well know that some inquiring readers will ask how without money could Diego de Ordás be sent on business to Castile, for it is clear that in Castile and elsewhere money is a necessity, and in the same way [how could] Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco Álvarez el Chico be sent on business to Santo Domingo, and to the Island of Jamaica for horses and mares? I may answer this, that when we were fleeing from Mexico on the night so often mentioned by me, as there remained in the hall many bars of gold abandoned in a heap, most of the soldiers snatched some off, especially the horsemen, and much more the followers of Narvaez, and the officers of His Majesty who had charge of the gold carried off the prepared bundles, and in addition to this, by Cortés' orders more than eighty Tlaxcalan Indians were laden with gold and they were amongst the first who got clear of the bridges, so that it is clear that many loads of it were

saved, and it was not all lost on the causeway. As we poor soldiers who had no command but only lived to be commanded were at that time trying to save our lives, and later on to heal our wounds, we did not pay much attention to the gold, whether many loads of it were saved at the bridges or not, nor did we bother much about it, but Cortés and some of our Captains managed to get it from the Tlaxcalans who had carried it out, and we suspected them of getting away with the forty thousand pesos also, the share of the settlers of Villa Rica, and of spreading the report that they had been stolen.

With this gold Cortés was able to send to Castile on his personal business, and to buy horses, and to send to the Island of Santo Domingo to the Royal Audiencia, for at that time all held their tongues about the bars of gold that they possessed, although more proclamations had been issued.

Let us leave this subject, and I will say that now as all the towns in the neighbourhood of Tepeaca were at peace, Cortés settled that one Francisco de Orozco should stay in our town of Segura de la Frontera as captain, with a batch of twenty soldiers who were wounded or ill, and that all the rest of the army should go to Tlaxcala. He also gave orders that timber should be cut for the building of thirteen sloops so that we could return to Mexico again, for we knew for certain that we could never master the lake without sloops, nor carry on war, nor enter that great city another time by the causeways, without great risk to our lives.

He who was the expert to cut the wood and make the model and the measurement, and [give] instructions how they were to be fast sailers and of light draught for their special purpose, and the one who built them, was Martin López, who certainly, besides being a good soldier in all the wars, served His Majesty very well in this matter of

the sloops, and worked at them like a strong man. It seems to me, that if some ill luck had prevented his being one of the first to come in our company, we might have wasted much time in sending to Castile for a master carpenter, and then perhaps none might have come, on account of the great difficulty that the Bishop of Burgos always put in our way.

I must come back to my story and say that when we arrived at Tlaxcala our great friend Mase Escasi, that very loyal vassal of His Majesty, had died of smallpox. We all grieved over his death very much and Cortés said he felt it as though it were the death of his own father, and he put on mourning of black cloth,[1] and so did many of our Captains and soldiers. Cortés and all of us paid much honour to the children and relations of Mase Escasi. As there were disputes in Tlaxcala about the Caciqueship and command, Cortés ordered and decreed that it should go to a legitimate son of Mase Escasi, for so his father had ordered before he died, and he had also said to his sons and relations, that they should take care always to obey the commands of Malinche and his brethren, for we were certainly those who were destined to govern the country, and he gave them other good advice.

I must leave off talking about Mase Escasi, for he is dead, and will say of Xicotenga the elder and Chichimecatecle and nearly all the other caciques of Tlaxcala, that they offered their services to Cortés, both in the matter of cutting wood for the sloops and anything else he might order for the war against Mexico. Cortés embraced them with much affection and thanked them for it, especially Xicotenga the elder and Chichimecatecle, and soon persuaded them to become Christians and the good old

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "Such as was obtainable at that time."—G. G.

Xicotenga with much willingness said that he wished to be a Christian, and he was baptized by the Padre de la Merced with the greatest ceremony that at that time it was possible to arrange in Tlaxcala, and was given the name of Don Lorenzo Vargas.

Let us go back to speak of the sloops. Martin López made such speed in cutting the wood with the great assistance rendered him by the Indians, that he had the whole of it cut within a few days, and each beam marked for the position for which it was intended to occupy, after the manner that the master carpenters and boat builders have of marking it. He was also assisted by another good soldier named Ándrez Nuñez, and an old carpenter who was lame from a wound, called Ramírez the elder.

Then Cortés sent to Villa Rica for much of the iron and the bolts out of the ships which we had destroyed, and for anchors, sails and rigging and for cables and tow and all the other material for building ships, and he ordered all the blacksmiths to come, and one Hernando de Aguilar who was half a blacksmith and helped in the forging. As at that time there were three men of the name of Aguilar in our camp, we called this Hernando de Aguilar *Maxahierro* (the iron forger). Cortés sent a certain Santa Cruz, a native of Burgos, who was afterwards Regidor of Mexico, a very hard-working man and a good soldier, as Captain to Villa Rica with orders to bring all the material I have mentioned. He brought everything, even to the cauldrons for melting the pitch, and all the things that they had taken out of the ships, and transported them with the help of more than a thousand Indians, for all the towns of those provinces were enemies of the Mexicans, and at once gave men to carry the loads. Then as we had no pitch with which to caulk [the sloops], and the Indians did not know how to extract it, Cortés ordered four sailors who under-

stood the work to go and make pitch in some fine pine woods near Huexotzingo.[1]

Let us go on, and though it does not much concern the subject I have been speaking about, certain inquisitive gentlemen, who knew Alonzo de Ávila very well, have asked me, how it was that being a Captain and a very brave one, and being Accountant of New Spain, and a warlike man, and his inclination being more towards warfare than to looking after business with the Geronimite Friars who were the governors of all the Islands, how was it that Cortés sent him when he had other men who were better versed in business, such as Alonzo de Grado, or Juan de Cáceres, the rich, or others that they mentioned to me? I contend that Cortés sent Alonzo de Ávila because he knew him to be a bold man, who would dare to answer for us in what he considered just. He also sent him because Alonzo de Ávila had had disputes with other Captains, and had the great temerity to say to Cortés anything he considered proper to tell him, and so as to avoid brawls and in order to give the command that he held to Andrés de Tápia and the Accountantship to Alonzo de Grado, which he at once did, it was for these reasons that he sent him.

Let us go back to our story. As soon as Cortés saw that the timber for the sloops was cut, and the persons named by me had started for Cuba, (that is the followers of Narvaez and those whom we considered encumbrances, especially as they were always saying to us that we had not force enough to resist the great power of the Mexicans

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I remember that the man who had charge of the work and went as captain was Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, who was a good soldier in the Mexican War, and was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, a very honourable person who, later on, went as captain and admiral of thirteen vessels with Pedro de Alvarado and was a good servant of His Majesty in every capacity and died in his service."—G. G.

when they heard it said that we were going to besiege Mexico) freed from these anxieties, [he] Cortés settled that we should go with all our soldiers to the city of Texcoco. Over this there were many and great discussions, for some of the soldiers said that there was a better position, and better canals and ditches in which to build the sloops at Ayotzingo near Chalco than in the ditch and lake [at Texcoco], and others contended that Texcoco was the better, as it was nearer to many other towns, and that when we held that city in our power, we could make expeditions to the country in the vicinity of Mexico, and that once stationed in that city we could form a better opinion as to how things were going on.

When it was settled in the way I have said, the news reached us through letters brought by some soldiers, that a large ship had arrived from Spain and the Canary Islands, laden with a great variety of merchandise, muskets, powder, crossbows and crossbow cords, and three horses, and other arms, and there came as owner of the merchandise and of the ship Juan de Burgos, and as sailing master Francisco de Amedel, and there were thirteen soldiers in her. At that news we were greatly delighted and, if before the news of the ship reached us we were in haste to start for Texcoco, we were all the more in haste now, because Cortés sent at once to buy all the arms and powder and everything else that she carried, and even Juan de Burgos himself and Amedel and all the passengers on board soon came to our camp, and we were very well satisfied at receiving such timely assistance. I call to mind that a certain Juan de Espinar, a very rich man who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, joined at that time, also a Biscayan named Monjaraz, said to be an uncle of Ándrez de Monjaraz, and Gregorio de Monjaraz, who were soldiers of ours, and father of a woman who afterwards came to Mexico called "La Monjaraza," a very beautiful woman,

also a Sagredo, uncle of a woman called "La Sagreda" who lived in Cuba, they were natives of the town of Medellin. I recall this to mind now on account of what I shall go on to say, which is that Monjaraz never went fighting or on any expedition with us, because he was ill at that time, and when he had quite recovered he gave himself the airs of a brave man, and when we were besieging Mexico, Monjaraz said that he wished to go and see how we fought with the Mexicans, for he did not believe that the Mexicans were brave; and he went and ascended a lofty Cue like a tower, and we never found out how and in what manner the Indians killed him that same day. Many persons who had known him in the Island of Santo Domingo said that it was the Divine Will that he should die that death, for he had killed his wife, a good and honourable person, for no fault whatever, and had sought false witnesses who swore that she had bewitched him.

I must leave off telling old stories and say how we went to the city of Texcoco and what happened there.

APPENDIX A.

THE IZTAPALAPA CAUSEWAY.[1]

THERE is some difficulty in fixing the exact position of the Iztapalapa Causeway, and I have endeavoured in these notes to ascertain the correct position from the narratives of the conquerors and such side lights as later writers and maps throw on the subject.

It is as well first to quote in full the descriptions by Cortés and Bernal Díaz.

Second Letter of Cortés.

"The City of Iztapalapa has from twelve to fifteen thousand 'vecinos' (families) and stands on the shore of a great salt lake, half of it in the water and the other half on dry land . . . . .

"The day after arriving at this City, I set out, and after marching half a league I entered on a Causeway which goes for two leagues across the middle of this lake until it reaches the great city of Tenochtitlan which is built in the middle of the same lake. This Causeway is as broad as two lances and very well built, so that eight horsemen abreast could march along it, and in these two leagues from one end to the other of the said Causeway there are three cities, the greater part of one of them named Mesicalsingo (Mexicaltzingo) is built in this same lake and the other two, one named Niciaca[2] and the other

[1] I am deeply indebted to Professor E. Seler, of Berlin, for many references to early authorities and the correct location of the site of Acachinanco.

[2] Niciaca: Professor Seler says that this is Mixiuacan the South-East spur of the district of Zoquipan, which is the South-East division of the City of Mexico.

Huchilohuchico (Churubusco) are on the shores of it, with many of their houses in the water. The first of these cities may have 3000 'vecinos' (families), the second more than 6000, and the third 4000 or 5000. In all of them there are very good buildings of houses and towers, especially the houses of the chieftains and principal persons, and those of the Mosques and oratories where they keep their Idols . . . . . So I followed along the said Causeway and half a league before arriving at the body of the city of Tenochtitlan, at the entrance of another causeway which comes from the dry land (Tierra firme) to join this other,[1] there is a very strong fortification with two towers surrounded by a wall twice the height of a man (de dos estados), with its parapet embattled along all the enclosure that it makes with the two causeways, and there are only two gates, one for entry and the other for exit. Here there came out to see and speak to me nearly a thousand chieftains . . . and thus I stood waiting almost an hour while each one paid his respects. Already near the city is a wooden bridge ten paces wide, and the Causeway is open here so that the water may have space to go in and out, for it rises and falls, and also as a defence to the city, for they can place and remove some very broad and long beams of which the bridge is made as often as they like, and of these [bridges] there are many throughout the city, as further on, in the story that I shall tell about these things, your Highness will see.

"When we had passed this bridge, the Lord Montezuma came out to receive us with nearly two hundred chieftains . . . and they came in two processions very close to the walls of the street, which is very handsome and straight, and one can see from one end of it to the other, and it is two thirds of a league long, and on one side and the other

[1] The small causeway leading to Coyoacan.

are very good and large houses both dwelling houses and mosques."

The following is the parallel passage from Bernal Díaz :—

"Early next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We advanced along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width, and goes so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to, and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to get by the crowds that came, and the towers and Cues were full of people, and the canoes from all parts of the lake. . . . . .

"But let us get on and march along the Causeway. When we arrived where another small causeway branches off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there are some buildings like towers, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them.

"The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and, as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with their hands.

"There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba, and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma who was coming near in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques who possessed vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other

small towers the great Montezuma got down from his litter," etc., and the meeting between Cortés and Montezuma took place.

The first point to settle is the position of the Causeway connecting the Iztapalapa peninsula and the land to the west. As this Causeway was built as a dam to hold back the water of Lake Xochimilco from flowing into the waters of Lake Texcoco it naturally took the shortest course and ran nearly east and west. It seems probable that the Causeway followed the line of the present road known as the Puente de Churubusco. This Causeway or *Calzada* was in later years known as the Calzada de Mexicaltzingo, because, after leaving Iztapalapa, it passed through or near that town, and for the sake of clearness it will be so called in this note.

The main Causeway of Iztapalapa (or as it was afterwards called the Calzada de San Anton) ran in a northerly direction from the western end of the Calzada de Mexicaltzingo, direct to the City of Mexico, "which goes straight to the City of Mexico and does not seem to me to turn either much or little" (B.D.) that is along the line now followed by the Electric Tramway.[1] From the point of junction of the two causeways, which was probably at or near the spot where the Puente de Churubusco now crosses the tramway line, a road can be seen on the modern map passing the convent of Churubusco and entering Coyoacan, and this is probably the line of road or causeway which at the time of the Conquest connected the city of Coyoacan with the Iztâpalapa Causeway and Mexico.

Cortés says that on setting out from Iztapalapa "after

[1] The tramway from Mexico, after leaving the Puente de Churubusco, goes on through Churubusco to San Anton and Tlalpam, probably following an ancient line of road between the Pedregal or great lava field and the lake.

marching half a league (*i.e.* along the Mexicaltzingo Causeway) I entered on a causeway which goes for two leagues across the middle of the lake until it reaches the great City of Tenochtitlan."

Bernal Díaz makes no mention of the Mexicaltzingo Causeway and begins his description with the straight (Iztapalapa) Causeway across the lake.

The following quotations tend to confirm the location of the Causeway given above:—

"The next day the Alguacil Mayor with the people who were with him in Iztapalapa, both Spaniards and allies, left for Coyoacan, and from there [Iztapalapa] to the mainland there is a causeway about a league and a half long. When the Alguacil Mayor began his march, at the distance of about a quarter of a league he reached a small city [Mexicaltzingo] which also stood in the water, but through many parts of it he could ride on horseback. . . . . and he burned the city, and because I had heard that the Indians had broken much of the Causeway [of Mexicaltzingo] I sent two sloops to help them to pass, and they made a bridge of them so the soldiers could cross, and when they had passed over they went to lodge at Coyoacan, and the Alguacil Mayor with ten horsemen took the road along the Causeway to where we had our camp"[1] [*i.e.* to Acachinanco along the Iztapalapa Causeway].

"The Causeway of Mexicaltzingo, which holds back the lake of Chalco, and which begins at the town of Iztapalapa [and passes] through that of Mexicaltzingo is 5200 varas long and eleven varas wide."[2]

[1] Extract from the description of the siege in the Third Letter of Cortés.

[2] "Relacion Universal Legitima y Verdadera del sitio en que esta fundada la Muy Noble, etc. . . Ciudad de Mexico," by Don Fernando de Cepeda and Don Fer. Alonzo Cárillo. 1637. 1 vara = 33 inches.

5200 varas is approximately the distance from the west end of the Puente de Churubusco to the modern Plaza of Iztapalapa.

Most of the earlier maps show this Causeway running from Mexicaltzingo towards Coyoacan and some of them also show a second causeway running parallel to it further to the South, connecting Culuacan with Tasqueña, a road which still exists, and was probably formed some years after the conquest when the level of the lakes was already lowered.

Following the Iztapalapa Causeway towards Mexico "half a league before arriving at the body of the city of Tenochtitlan, at the entrance of another causeway which comes from the dry land to join this other," [leading to Coyoacan according to Bernal Díaz] "there is a strong fortification," etc. (Cortés's Second Letter). The site of this fortification was known as Acachinanco; it was here that Cortés met the deputation of chieftains from the city, and it is here that during the siege of the city he established his headquarters. Acachinanco corresponds with the spot where the tramway line crosses the Rio de la Piedad. Quotations from authorities, on which this location is based, will be found at the end of this Appendix.

Before proceeding along the Causeway it is as well to consider the small causeway which Bernal Díaz speaks of as "leading to Coyoacan." If it went to that city, it must have gone towards the Western end of it, otherwise it would have been of little practical use, as its course would have been too nearly parallel to that of the Iztapalapa Causeway. It may have followed the line of a road shown on the Upsala map, a road which still exists. It must have been, as Bernal Díaz says, a small causeway (Calzadilla) and therefore easily broken down, for it is a curious fact

that no use was made of it during the siege, and it is never mentioned again.

Proceeding along the Causeway from Acachinanco: "Already near the city is a wooden bridge ten paces wide," etc. (Cortés's Second Letter). "When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the great Montezuma got down from his litter," etc. (Bernal Díaz). A bridge over a drainage canal still marks the site of this opening in the Causeway, and it is now known as the Puente de San Antonio Abad, named after the church of San Antonio,[1] which was built near or on the site of the "Idol towers" called Xoluco.[2]

Between the bridge at Xoluco and the great square of the city the road was crossed by two principal canals, one at Huitzilan, just to the south of what was formerly called the Hospital of La Concepcion and is now known as the Hospital de Jesus Nazareno, and the other on entering the Great Square of which the canal formed the southern boundary.

To return to the entry of the Spaniards into the city.

The deputation of chieftains which had gone to Acachinanco had returned to the city to warn Montezuma

[1] This site, is that occupied afterwards by the church of San Antonio Abad. When the island was not inhabited, this was the first site occupied by the Astecs, and was called Nexticpac. The temple found on this site by the Conquerors was called Xoluco. On the 19th January, 1530, the Cabildo gave a Solar (ground plot) to Alonzo Sánchez, "because he said that at his own expense he wished to build a hermitage to Senor San Antonio, the said (Cabildo) marked out for him where he could construct the said hermitage which is on the Causeway which goes from this city to Iztapalapa, to the extent of one solar in length on the left hand, to the point of an island that is there." So one can note that in 1530 the waters of the lake reached this site, and this was the limit of the city and island in this direction. (Orozco y Berra, "Hist. de Mexico," vol. iv, p. 289).

[2] Much confusion has arisen from the name Xoluco being attributed to the fort at Acachinanco, which Prescott, Orozco y Berra and other historians call the fort of Xoloc.

(who had probably halted at Huitzilan) of the approach of the Spaniards. Cortés and his soldiers then followed them along the Causeway, and, after passing the bridge at Xoluco, met Montezuma, who got down from his litter. The meeting therefore took place somewhere between the two bridges of Xoluco and Huitzilan. After the meeting Montezuma returned to his Palace, and the Spaniards followed him along the street, and were conducted to the Palace of Axayacatl, the late Emperor of Mexico and the father of Montezuma, situated at the N.E. corner of the Great Square.

The width of the Iztapalapa Causeway cannot be determined with exactitude. Bernal Díaz says "eight paces." Cortés says "the length of two lances and that eight horsemen could march abreast along it." The Anonymous Conqueror gives the width of the causeways as thirty paces or more. The "Relacion Universal," published more than one hundred years after the Conquest, gives the width of the Mexicaltzingo Causeway at that time as eleven varas, and says that the Causeway of San Anton (Iztapalapa) was seven thousand varas in length and ten in width. That the width could not have been much less than thirty feet is shown by Cortés's description of his camp at Acachinanco during the siege. "On one side and the other of the two towers on the Causeway, where I was lodged, they [the Indian allies] built so many huts that between the first house and the last there was [a distance] of more than three or four shots of a crossbow, and Your Majesty can see how broad was this causeway that goes through the deepest part of the lake, that on one side and the other there were these houses and there was a street left in the middle, along which we could go at pleasure on foot or on horseback, and there were always in camp, between Spaniards and Indians who attended on them, more than two thousand persons."

Sahagun. Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Book 12. Ch. 30.

(The first day of the siege of Mexico City.)

"How the sloops which were built in Texcoco came against Mexico . . . . . and they came across the lake towards a landing place called Acachinanco, which is near to Mexico, in the direction of San Anton, the church that stands near to the houses of Alvarado."

"As soon as the twelve sloops arrived, all assembled in Acachinanco, and the Marquis moved to Acachinanco."

Betancurt. Teatro Mexicano. Sucesos Militares. Ch. x.

(After the capture of Guatemoc.)

"and so as to guard the three kings who were prisoners . . . . he [Cortés] sent them in the sloops to Acachinanco, together with the ladies, for greater security."

Sahagun. Historia de la Conquista. Book 12. Ch. 16.

(The first entry of the Spaniards into Mexico).

"How Montezuma went out peaceably to receive the Spaniards at the place they call Xoluco which is on the canal which is near the houses of Alvarado a little this side of the place they call Vitzillan [Huitzilan] . . . . . Montezuma reached the Spaniards at the place they call Vitzillan, which is near the hospital of La Concepcion [Jesus Nazareno]."

Sahagun. Book 12. Ch. 30.

(During an attack on the City).

"The Spaniards reached a place called Vitzillan, which is near the church of San Pablo; there, another thick wall had been placed and on the flanks of it were a great many Mexicans; the Sloops were delayed there while the cannon were got ready to destroy the wall."

Tezozomoc. Cronica Mexicana, written about 1598.

(The priest of the goddess Chalchiuhtlicue charged to receive the fountain Acuecuexatl brought from Coyoacan to Mexico by Ahuitzotl).

"And going in procession they reached the spot called Mazatlan . . . . and when the water, which was called Acuecuexatl arrived, he began to cut the heads off of Quail, and as soon as he had finished drinking the water he saluted it saying, 'You are very welcome, Lady. I come to receive you for you will arrive at your own house in the midst of the dense reed thicket, Mexico, Tenochtitlan . . . . . .

"When the water reached Acachinanco, where there is an enclosure and a Hermitage of San Esteban,[1] they took one of their children and opening his chest with a (stone) knife they sprinkled the water with the hot blood, and as the water carried along the heart of the child, it began, at once to boil up, and increased in such a way that it rose above the wooden bridge where the people were passing.

"When the water reached Xoloco they cut the head off another child . . . . . and there at the bridge they had a canoe placed where the water fell and it was running in all directions carrying a conduit of water for the palace. On arriving at Ahuitzilan which is now the hospital of Our Lady [now Jesus Nazareno] the water poured into another conduit and was brought down and distributed:—there also another child was decapitated and sacrificed to the water, and it went straight on passing through the Royal Palace: and went on to fall into the district called *Apahuaztlan*, which is now the district of Tlaltelolco Santiago, in the enclosure that now stands there behind the hermitage of La Asumpcion de Nuestra Señora, and there they sacrificed another child."

Tezozomoc. Ch. 69.

". . . . they called to Tlillancalqui to arrange the captives from Aculnahuac in Cuyanacazco, on the Causeway which is now that of Our Lady of Guadalupe—and the captives from Tacuba they put in a place which they call Mazatzintamalco which is now close to the orchard of the Marques

[1] The road running from the site of Acachinanco to the Viga Canal is still called the Calzada de San Esteban, and the hermitage of San Esteban is marked close by the Viga Canal on the map of Mexico in the book by M. Chappe d'Anteroche, published in Paris in 1772.

del Valle. In the same way he called to Tocuiltecatl, and said that the captives from Cuahuacan, Xocotitlan, Matlatzinco, and Coatlapan, and those called the Chinampanecas, Culuacan, Mizquic, etc., should arrange their captives in another place, which was Acachinanco, where the first cross[1] was placed, which now stands in the direction of Cuyuacan, on the high road which now enters Mexico."

Tezozomoc. Ch. 67.

". . . they came all together, those from Tlaxcala Huexotzinco and Cholula, with the Mexican Ambassadors . . . . and by nightfall they were in the place called Apanoayan, and when they reached it they rested; and the Mexicans said to them: 'Gentlemen and brothers, we must enter by night into the city of Mexico so that the Mexicans shall not see you . . . .;' with this they all went on with the greatest caution. As soon as they arrived at Acachinanco the Mexicans said to them 'We are already in Tenochtitlan'."

[1] See Map of Mexico from the Upsala Museum.

APPENDIX B.

THE TACUBA (TLACOPAN) CAUSEWAY.

THERE is no difficulty in locating this Causeway as it still exists as the main road from the great Plaza of Mexico to the town of Tacuba. The difficulty lies in locating and identifying the *cortaduras* or openings for the canals which passed through the Causeway from North to South. This is a matter which will have to be further dealt with when describing the early maps of the city. It suffices for the present to state that the three principal openings (which in ordinary circumstances were crossed by wooden bridges) were named :—

Tecpantzingo, now the Puente de Mariscala.
Tolteacalli, near the Church of San Hipólito.
Toltecaacalopan, now the Puente de Alvarado.

It was at the first of these, Tecpantzingo, that Cortés placed the portable wooden bridge which he had constructed, and it was here that it stuck fast.

Tolteacalli was the opening where the greatest slaughter took place, and it was to mark the spot that a small Hermitage was there set up by one Juan Garrido, almost immediately after the capture of the city, and was named La Ermita de los Martires, and dedicated to San Hipólito in commemeration of San Hipólito's day, 13th August, 1521, on which the city fell.

Toltecaacalopan retains the name, given to it at the time of the Conquest, of Alvarado's leap.

Cortés, in his Second Letter states that there were eight bridges, and Orozco y Berra suggests that three

of these were between the Great Plaza and Tecpantzingo, and that two other openings were made by the Mexicans at the time to increase the difficulties of the Spaniards.

The three openings between the Great Plaza of Tenochtitlan and Tecpantzingo, from which the bridges had been removed, had probably been sufficiently filled in during the previous day's fighting and presented no difficulty to the flight of the Spaniards on the Noche Triste.

The distances traversed on the Noche Triste are approximately as follows :—

	Yards.	*Miles.*
From the Spanish quarters to Tecpantzingo . .	1000	
„ Tecpantzingo to Tolteacalli . . .	740	say 1¼
„ Tolteacalli to Toltecaacalopan . . .	500	
„ Toltecaacalopan to the Ahuehuete Tree at Popotla on the margin of the lake . .		2¼
„ The Ahuehuete Tree to the Plaza of Tacuba . .		1
„ Tacuba to Los Remedios		4½
		9

APPENDIX C.

ITINERARY.[1]

12th Oct., 1519.		The Spaniards march from Tlaxcala to a camp by a river.
13th	„ „	Enter Cholula.
	. . . . .	
1st Nov., 1519.		Leave Cholula for the Ranchos de Yscalpan.
2nd	„ „	Yscalpan to Ithualco (near the summit of the Pass).
3rd	„ „	Ithualco to Amecameca.
6th	„ „	Amecameca to Ayotzingo.
7th	„ „	Ayotzingo to Iztapalapa.
8th	„ „	Iztapalapa to the City of Mexico.
	. . . . .	
12th	„ „	The Spaniards visit Tlaltelolco.
14th(?)	„	The Seizure of Montezuma.

Pánfilo de Narvaez probably landed in Mexico about the middle of April.

Cortés remained in the City of Mexico from the 8th November, 1519, until early in May, 1520, when he marched against Narvaez.

Early in May, 1520.	Cortés marched from the City of Mexico to Cholula by way of the Pass between the Volcanoes. At Cholula he joined forces with Juan Velásquez de Leon and Rodrigo Rangel, whom he had previously sent on expeditions towards the coast, and thence he despatched Juan González de Heredia to fetch long lances from Chinantla.

[1] Orozco y Berra has made a careful examination of the evidence relating to this period, and the dates given in this Itinerary are in accordance with his conclusions. On p. 254 Bernal Diaz says: "Our escape [from the city] was on the tenth of the Month of July, and this celebrated battle of Otumba on the fourteenth of the Month of July." In this he differs from Cortés and all the other authorities.

Early in May, 1520. Cholûla to Tepeaca,
Where Cortés met Padre Olmedo returning from his Mission to Narvaez.

Tepeaca to Quecholac,
Where Cortés met Alonzo de Mata and his four witnesses.

Quecholac to Ahuilizapan (Orizaba),
Where Cortés was delayed by the rain for two days, and whence he despatched Pero Hernández and Rodrigo Alvarez Chico with a peremptory order to Narvaez.

Ahuilizapan to Cuautochco (Huatusco, in the State of Vera Cruz),
Where Cortés was met by two Clerics, Juan Ruiz de Guevara and Juan de Leon, and by Andrés de Duero, emissaries from Narvaez.

Cuautochco to Tampaniquita,
Where Cortés was joined by Sandoval and his company and whence he despatched a letter, signed by his followers, to Narvaez by the hands of Padre Olmedo and Bartolomé de Usagre.

Tampaniquita to Mitalaguita (Mictlancuauhtla).
Here Cortés was joined by Tovilla, who had come from Chinantla with long lances, and by

26th May, 1520. Bartolomé de Usagre, who returned from the camp of Narvaez in company with Andrés de Duero and two Cuban Indians.

27th May, „ Andrés de Duero set out on his return to Cempoala about midday. In the afternoon Cortés sent Juan Velásquez de Leon, adorned with his Fanfarona, to Cempoala, and in the evening himself marched with his troops in the direction of Cempoala, camping for the night on the bank of a stream.

28th May, „ Juan Velásquez de Leon reached Cempoala at dawn. Cortés marched at dawn and rested during the heat of the day on the banks of the Rio de Canoas (or de la Antigua), where he was met by Padre Olmedo and Juan Velásquez de Leon, who were returning from Cempoala. Cortés continues his march, and crossing the Rio Chachalacas in the night,

29th May, 1520. Attacks Narvaez before dawn and defeats and captures him.

Barrientos arrives with the warriors from Chinantla.

Cortés despatched Spanish messengers (probably at once) to carry the news of his victory to the City of Mexico.

. . . . .

1st June, „ Cortés gives orders for expeditions under Juan Velásquez de Leon to proceed to Panuco, and under Diego de Ordás to proceed to Coatzacoalcos; within a few days these expeditions were recalled.

(The massacre of Mexicans in the City by Alvarado probably took place on the 16th May.)

Arrival of native messengers with the news that Alvarado was besieged in his quarters in the City.

. . . . .

About 10th June. Spanish messengers return from the City of Mexico and confirm the bad news and state that the sloops built for the navigation of the Lake had been destroyed.

. . . . .

Cortés promptly leaves Cempoala and following the route of his former journey inland (see vol. i, pp. 215-217) on the

17th June, 1520. Arrived at Tlaxcala.

. . . . .

Leaving Tlaxcala for Texcoco by way of Calpulalpan.

Arrived at Texcoco.

23rd June, „ Left Texcoco and going round the North end of the Lakes camped within three leagues of the City. (This necessitated a march of about forty miles.)

24th June, „ Entered Mexico at mid-day.

25th, Monday „ Cortés liberates Cuitlahuac.

Mexicans attack the Spaniards.

26th, Tuesday „ The Spaniards sally from their quarters.

Hard fighting all day long. During the night the Spaniards begin to construct "burros" or moveable wooden towers.

27th, Wednesday. At work on the "burros" all day. The Mexicans keep up an incessant attack on the Spanish quarters. Montezuma is persuaded to address his countrymen from the roof and is wounded by a shower of stones ; the first stone is said to have been cast by Guatemoc.

28th, Thursday. The Spaniards under the protection of the "burros" make a determined but unsuccessful attack on the Mexicans. Later in the day they succeed in an attack on the Great Teocalli, killing all its defenders. During the evening the Spaniards destroyed a large number of houses on the street leading towards Tacuba.

29th, Friday . The Spaniards make a sally in the direction of Tacuba, capturing four bridges and filling in the "cortaduras" or water openings with material from the houses destroyed. Guards were left at these bridges during the night to prevent their recapture.

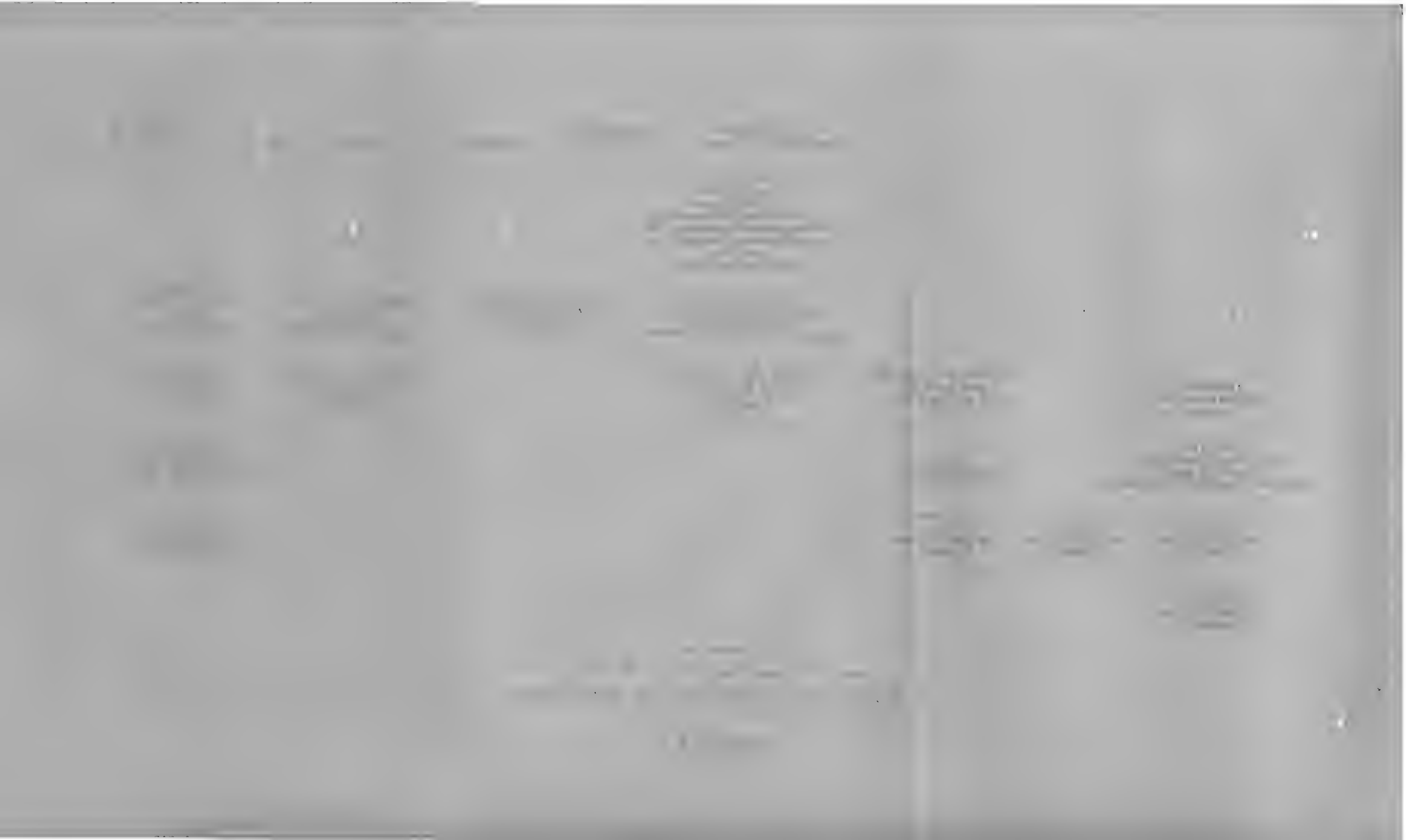
Death of Montezuma (according to Bernal Diaz, according to Orozco y Berra, Montezuma died on 30th June).

30th, Saturday. The Spaniards were occupied during the morning in clearing the road and causeway towards Tacuba ; then, after some fruitless negotiations, the Mexicans resumed their attack and captured the bridges which, however, were again recaptured by the Spaniards, who had determined to escape from the City during the night.

The Spaniards and their allies left their quarters just before midnight, carrying with them the portable wooden bridge on which to cross the several "cortaduras" or water openings. This portable bridge stuck fast at the "cortadura" known as Tecpantzingo (now the Puente de Mariscala). The greatest slaughter of the Spaniards and their allies took place at Tolteocalli near San Hipólito) where the bridge over the "cortadura" had been destroyed by the Mexicans. Cortés and the remnant of his followers reached Tacuba and then continued their flight, during

1st July, Sunday.	the morning to the hill of Totoltepec (now the site of the Church of Nuesta Señora de Los Remedios), where they took refuge in the enclosure of a Mexican Teocalli.
	The night of 30th June-1st July is known as the Noche Triste.
	At midnight continuing their retreat under the guidance of some Tlaxcalans,
2nd, Monday .	The Spaniards reached Teocalhuican, a town of the Otomies, where they were well received.
3rd, Tuesday .	Marched from Teocalhuican by way of Cuauhtitlan and Tepotzotlan to Citlaltepec.
4th, Wednesday.	At Citlaltepec the Spaniards rested for a day, finding abundant provisions.
5th, Thursday .	Marched from Citlaltepec to Xoloc.
6th, Friday .	Marched from Xoloc to Zacamolco, on the hill of Aztaquemecan ; here the Spaniards fed on a dead horse.
7th, Saturday .	Soon after leaving Zacamolco, on the plain of Tonanpoco not far from Otumba, the Spaniards encountered the Mexican forces and fought the great battle of Otumba. After defeating the Mexicans the Spaniards continued their march to the small village of Apam.
8th, Sunday .	Marched from Apam and crossing the Tlaxcalan frontier reached Hueyotlipan (Gualiopar, B.D.), where they rested for three days.
9th or 10th .	Arrival of the Tlaxcalan Caciques, who welcomed the Spaniards to their country.
12th . . .	The Spaniards marched to Tlaxcala, where they rested for twenty days.
Early in August.	The Spaniards left Tlaxcala for Tepeaca, and marching by short stages they reached Acatzingo (Acacingo), where they rested for five days.
	After fighting a battle they entered Tepeaca.
About 4th Sep-	Cortés founded the Town of Segura de la Frontera

	No dates can be ascribed with certainty to the various expeditions sent out from Tepeaca, which continued to be the headquarters of the Spaniards until Cortés returned to Tlaxcala about the middle of December.
26th December.	Cortés holds a review of his forces at Tlaxcala.
28th „	The Spaniards and their allies marched out of Tlaxcala on their way to Texcoco.



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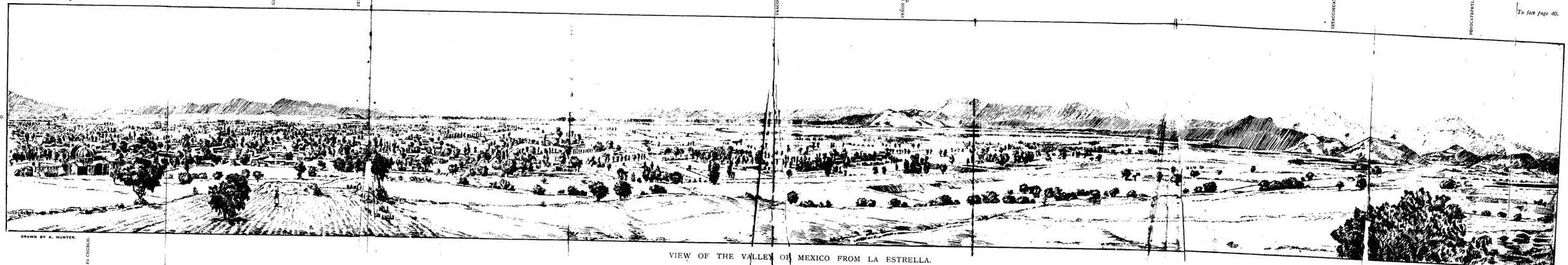

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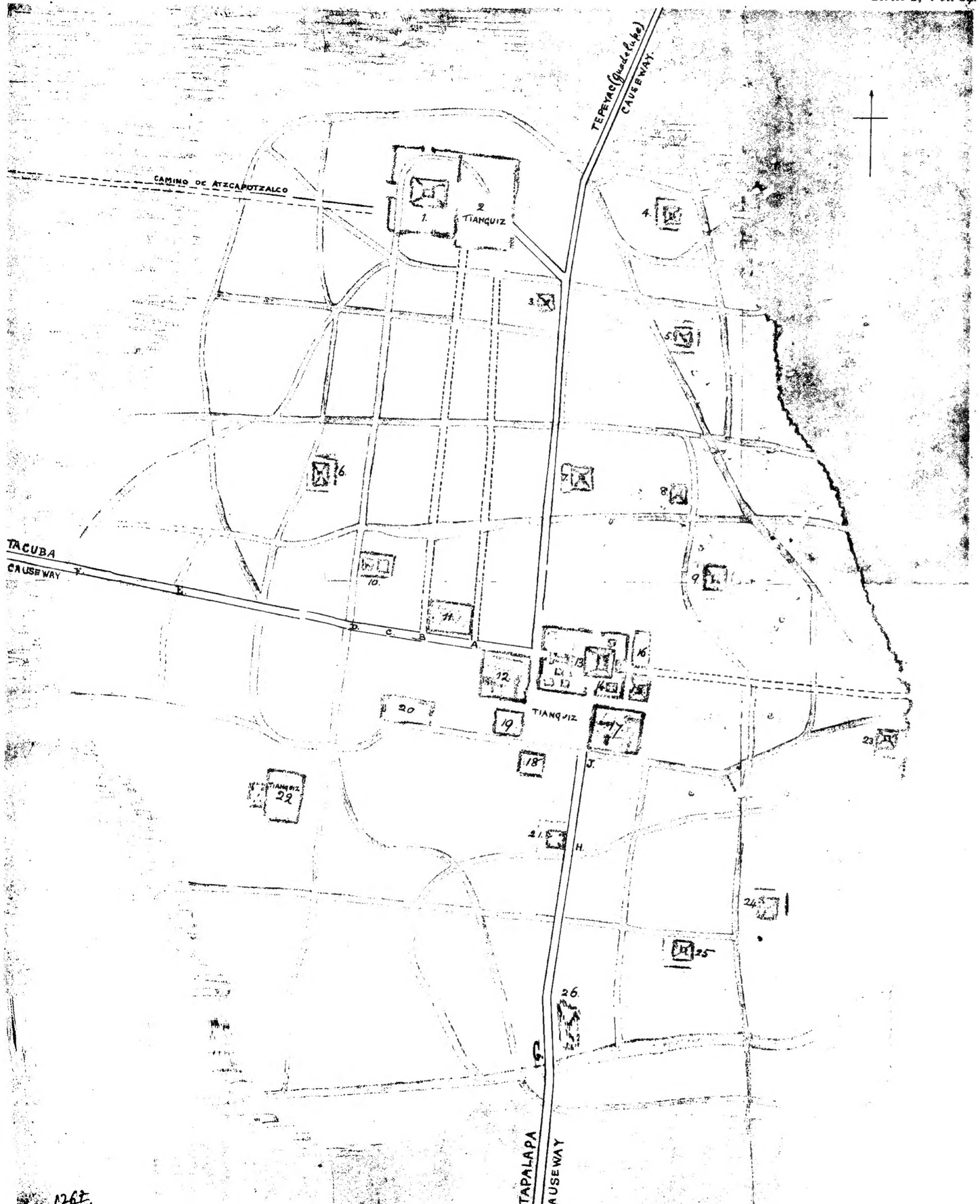
VIEW OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO FROM LA ESTRELLA.

DRAWN FROM PHOTOGRAPHS AND CORRECTED ON THE SPOT.



A Rough Sketch Map of the City of Mexico.
Showing the direction of the Principal Causeways and Canals
&
the Sites of some of the principal buildings and Teocallis
at the time of the Conquest.

This Map is compiled from various well-known sources, with some slight alterations.
As some of the locations are still in dispute it does not pretend to accuracy.
No attempt is made to show the numerous Smaller Canals
although the position of some of them can still be traced.

1 inch = 1000 feet.

1. Great Teocalli of Tlaltelolco.
2. Tianguiz (Market-place).
3. Xacaculco — Sta. Ana.
4. Tenantitech, — Conception Tequizpeca.
5. Xocotillan — San Antonio Tepito.
6. Cuepopan, — Santa Maria la Redonda.
7. Tezontlalmacoyan, — Sta. Caterina Martyr.
8. . . . . El Carmen.
9. Atzacoalco — San Sebastian.
10. . . . . Convento de la Conception
11. Palace of Guatemoc.
12. Old Palace of Montezuma.
13. Great Teocalli of Tenochtitlan.
14. Teocalli of Tezcatlipoca.
15. Aviary, (Casa de Aves).
16. Palace of Axayacatl.
17. New Palace of Montezuma.
18. Palace of Tilancalqui.
19. Cuicacalli, Dance House (Casa de Danzas).
20. House of the Wild Animals (Casa de Fieras).
21. Huitzilan, — Hospital de Jesus Nazareno.
22. Teocalli & Tianguiz de Moyotlan, San Juan de la Penetencia.
23. . . . . San Lazaro.
24. Ayauhcalco — St. Tomás Apóstol.
25. Huitznahuac Ayauhcultitan, — San Pablo.
26. Xoluco, — San Antonio Abad.

A. 1st Cortadura.
B. 2nd Cortadura.
C. 3rd Cortadura.
D. Tecpantzingo, — Puente de la Mariscala.
E. Tolteacalli, — San Hipolito.
F. Toltecaacaiapan, — Puente de Alvarado.
G. Xoluco, — Puente de San Antonio Abad.
H. Huitzilan.
J. Puente de Palacio.

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